

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

EDITED BY

JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D.

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

EDITOR OF

'DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE' AND 'DICTIONARY OF CHRIST AND THE GOSPELS'

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D.

AND OTHER SCHOLARS

VOLUME II

ARTHUR-BUNYAN

NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

EDINBURGH: T. & T. CLARK

1910

mixed. This is al-Ash'ari's doctrine of *iktisāb*, 'acceptance.' Al-Ghazālī then attempts to clarify this hopeless problem with a long illustration which need not be reproduced here. It belongs only very indirectly to this rubric. His final point is that when the Prophet forbade to leave a town in which the plague had appeared, that did not mean that a believer, in fleeing from a place of gross sin, was showing lack of pleasure in and acceptance of the will of Allah. Such was not the point of the Prophet's prohibition. It was meant rather to prevent all the healthy people from leaving the sick to perish. And flight from the possibility of sin is not away from Allah's will, but proceeds from it. It is a moot point among the learned as to who is the most excellent—the man who loves death that he may go to Allah, or the man who would rather live that he may serve his Master, or

the man who says that he has no choice, but will be well pleased with that which Allah chooses for him.

LITERATURE.—All books on Sūfism contain some material for this subject. Scattered through *The 1001 Nights* are stories of Saints, etc., also to the purpose. The following are more special references (but the only satisfactory materials are still in Arabic alone): Asin, *La Psicología según Mohidin Aben-arabi*, Paris, 1906 (extract from vol. iii. of *Actes du sixième Congr. Internat. d. Orient.*); also 'Psicología del éxtasis en dos grandes místicos musulmanes,' in *Cultura Española*, Feb. 1906; Carra de Vaux, *Gazet*, Paris, 1902, p. 218 ff.; *DI* under 'Love' and 'Sufi'; Margolliouth, 'Contributions to the Biography of Abd al-Kadir of Jilan,' in *JRAS*, for April, 1907, p. 267 ff.; Merz, *Ides u. Grundlinien einer allgemeinen Gesch. der Mystik*, Heidelberg, 1898; Nicholson, 'Historical Enquiry concerning . . . Sūfism,' in *JRAS* for April, 1906, p. 303 ff.; Palmer, *Oriental Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1867; Weir, *Shaikhs of Morocco*, Edinburgh, 1904; also the two treatises of the present writer referred to above.

D. B. MACDONALD.

BLESSING.—See CURSING AND BLESSING.

BLEST, ABODE OF THE.

Primitive and Savage (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 680.

Buddhist (LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN), p. 687.

Celtic (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 689.

Christian.—See CHILIASM and STATE OF THE DEAD (Christian).

Egyptian.—See SOUL-HOUSE.

Greek and Roman (F. W. HALL), p. 696.

Hindu (H. JACOBI), p. 698.

Japanese (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 700.

Muslim.—See MUHAMMADANISM.

Persian (L. H. GRAY), p. 702.

Semitic (G. A. BARTON), p. 704.

Slavonic (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 706.

Teutonic (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 707.

BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Primitive and Savage).—I. **Introduction.**—The idea of the future life entertained by many peoples is frequently a complex one; in other words, various conceptions are held simultaneously. Thus among one people it may be thought that the spirit lingers round or re-visits its old haunts, that it passes to another region, and that it transmigrates into an animal or is re-born. This, while due in part to the fluidity of primitive belief and the apparent lack of any perception of contradictory ideas, may also result from the fact that it is often thought that a man possesses several souls, to each of which a different rôle is assigned after death. Sometimes, however, these concurrent ideas are less contradictory. The soul leaves the other world to return for a time to the grave or the village, while transmigration occurs only after a sojourn, longer or shorter, in the spirit-world. The conception of the future state will be discussed in a separate article (see STATE OF THE DEAD); here we shall confine ourselves to the idea of it as a blissful region, or to the conception of a region of happiness open to a few favoured mortals. Such ideas have not been universal; while, again, when the belief in a future life is lacking or is vague, the Elysium idea naturally is also vague or lacking. The simplest idea of the life of the spirit in another region after death is that of a mere continuance of the earthly life without change. This conception prevails among several peoples. It is to such a continuance theory that we must trace the idea of life beyond the grave as fuller and ampler than life on earth or of an Elysium state. Such a fuller life is, of course, generally expressed among savages in terms of savage life—there will be better hunting and fishing, and plenty of food; the huts will be larger, and all bodily desires will be amply fulfilled. What caused this transition can only be suggested. Since, in the continuance theory, the chief was still a chief, the slave a slave, and all who possessed wealth or power or tribal lore still retained these, this would naturally lead to the idea that for some at least—the chief, the medicine-man or priest, the wealthy—things would be better than on earth. Again, it may have been thought that the gods would be kinder to those who had observed

their cult and ritual more carefully, or that those who had distinguished themselves on earth as warriors or by great bravery would be rewarded. Here we approach the dawn of more strictly retributive ideas. Such qualities as are approved among savages—bravery as opposed to cowardice, observance of tribal laws, and the like—have an ethical tinge; while even among savages, though morality may be lax from our point of view, certain moral ideas are inculcated, and they who observe them are said to be approved by the gods. This does not necessarily mean that the 'good' man, from the savage point of view, is always rewarded after death, but in many cases this belief is entertained, while the 'bad' are supposed to be punished. Hence, though in some cases the influence of a higher religion with a retributive system may have affected savage eschatology, there are others in which the development of such a system has proceeded spontaneously and apart from outside influence. When we add to all this the fact that greater powers are generally attributed to the spirit after death, it will easily be seen that men might readily come to believe that the spirit's opportunities of exercising them would be greater, and its surroundings, along with its capacity of enjoyment, would be more ample. While, then, the continuance state is often deemed a better one than earthly life, one in which different lots are assigned to different classes of men, there arises the idea of different states or places of existence, some perfectly happy, some no better than on earth or even more miserable.

Other ideas may quite well have produced the conception that life after death was blissful. Man's experience of the miseries of this world and his instinctive desire for happiness may have suggested a blissful other-world as an offset to this earth. The same experience led him to form myths of a Golden Age in the past, in which we occasionally meet with the idea that gods and men lived together or had free intercourse with each other. These may have suggested the idea that such a state still existed, and that it would be restored to man after death. Here the belief is sometimes expressed, that men will be with the gods after death, or will return to the region, subterranean

or heavenly, whence they originally came. There is also the belief (expressed in many myths of the origin of death) that man is naturally immortal, and that pain, unhappiness, hunger, and thirst are unnatural. Hence they will no longer exist beyond the grave (see AGES OF THE WORLD, FALL). But such a state of the blest, especially when it is the abode of gods or immortals, is often reserved only for a few, while these sometimes pass thither without dying. It may also be believed in as a state apart from the ordinary abode of the dead, whether that is blissful or otherwise, though occasionally it is a mere region of the other world.

The continuance theory does not always develop in these directions, and sometimes it is held that life after death is for all a tame copy of earthly life, a dim, poor, shadowy replica of the present. This is common among West African tribes, and is found also among the Greeks and Semites, though with all these there is usually the idea of a blissful abode of divine beings.

The locality of the blissful region varies. Sometimes, probably as a result of inhumation or cave-burial, it is an underground region. Or, again, it is simply another distant part of the earth—frequently the east or west—or an island, perhaps because men believe that after death they will go to the region whence their ancestors migrated, or because the sun is supposed to pass through the place of the dead. Or it is on a mountain, probably because mountains are thought to support the sky, above which, in turn, the blissful abode is also located. Hence men are sometimes buried on mountains, while the custom of cremation may mark the change to the conception of a heavenly world whither the spirit floated when set free by the fire. Or, again, the planets, sun, moon, and stars, are held to be the abode of the blest, while many primitive folk believe that stars are the dead transformed.

In many cases the blissful region, like the world of the dead generally, is reached only after a long and toilsome journey, over mountains and rivers, over the bridge of death, while many obstacles and dangers are met with, and various supernatural enemies are encountered. Occasionally these dangers and obstacles are intended to try the worth of the spirit, and if it fails to surmount them, it cannot reach the blissful abode. Possibly, however, these trials and dangers are reminiscences of similar experiences in the old migrations of a tribe, traditionally handed down and made part of the experience of the dead where they were supposed to return to some former dwelling-place of the tribe.

Whatever ideas are held concerning the abode of the dead are strengthened and amplified by dreams, in which the soul is thought to have visited it; or when the medicine-man claims the power of going thither, and returns with a vivid description of its character; or by myths telling of visits of the living to that land, their sojourn there, and their return (see § 7).

2. The lowest peoples.—We know nothing of the exact nature of the eschatology of pre-historic man. But from the funeral *mobiliary* of interments in the Stone Age, and from the elaborate customs of sepulture in its later periods, we may be certain that some continuance theory existed, whether of the body or of the spirit, in the grave or in another region. Whether it was blissful or not cannot now be known (see MacCulloch, *Expt* xvii. [1906] 489). On the beliefs of the lowest peoples surviving now or within recent times, our information is more extensive, and, though it has been surmised that some of their eschatological ideas have been assimilated from Christian sources, there is little reason to doubt that on the whole they are original. The belief of the Tasmanians was vague, yet they looked forward to a happier life in which they would untiredly and with constant success pursue

the chase, and for ever enjoy the pleasures which they coveted on earth. Contact with the white man suggested to them that they would 'jump up white men' on an island in the Straits (H. Ling Roth, *Abor. of Tas.* 1890, p. 69). The religious ideas of the Australian tribes have sometimes been exaggerated by uncritical observers, but there is no doubt that among many of them a belief in a happy other-world was found. Of the tribes of West Australia little is known, while among the central and northern tribes a belief in perpetual re-incarnation existed universally (Spencer-Gillen^b, 491); but among those scattered over the south-east region the belief in a future happy life 'beyond the great water' or in the sky is generally found (Howitt, 438).

This is a land like the earth, and is sometimes called 'the gum-tree country,' but is more fertile, well watered, and abundantly supplied with game, while everything is better than in this world; and the spirits live there as they did on earth. Considerable freedom is ascribed to them, and they can also wander freely about the earth. Sometimes, as the Ngarigo and Wolgal believe, the spirit is met by the *quasi-divinity* Daramulun, who lives with the ghosts. The path to sky-land is by the rays of the setting sun or by the Milky Way, sometimes itself the dwelling of the ghosts (tribes on the Herbert River) and regarded as a water-course with fruit-groves and all desirable things; and there are many legends regarding its former accessibility by a tree or other means (Howitt, 434 ff., 474; *JAI* ii. 289, xiii. 187 ff., 194). The tribes around the Gulf region believe in a happy life in *Yalairy*, and a spirit above who looks after them there. *Yalairy* is reached by the Milky Way and is 'a good land, a nice place, full of beautiful, shady trees,' with plenty of water and abundance of game. It is usually thought of vaguely as beyond the stars, and the natives have no dread of going there (Palmer, *JAI* xiii. 291).

Something corresponding to the division caused elsewhere by rank, ritual observances, etc., is found among a few tribes. The Wakelbura thought that right-handed men went to the sky, left-handed men underground, while the island paradise of certain tribes round Maryborough is reached only by the 'good,' and those who show excellence in hunting, fishing, etc. (Howitt, 473, 498). Among the Gulf tribes the custom of knocking out two front teeth is connected with their entry to the sky-world. Those who have submitted to this custom will have bright, clear water to drink, others will have dirty or muddy water (*JAI* xiii. 291). Such beliefs may explain the retributive ideas ascribed to some of the tribes, though the fact that the great Being believed in by all these groups is supposed to be a kind of moral governor may have occasionally led to a retributive eschatology (see ABORIGINES, § 1; Howitt, 504; *JAI* ii. 288-9). Thus the Balame of certain tribes lives in Bullemah, the land of rest, a floral paradise of beauty and of plenty, where good spirits go, and can save from Elembah-wundah, the abode of the wicked (Parker, *More Aust. Legendary Tales*, London, 1898, 96, and cf. Lang's *Introd.* p. xxi).

The Andaman Islanders believe that beneath the earth is a jungle world (*chaitan*), where the spirits of the dead dwell and hunt the spirits of animals and birds. Between earth and sky is a cane bridge, over which the souls of the dead go to paradise, while the souls of those who have committed such sins as murder go to a cold region called *jereglar-mugu*. But all souls will finally be re-united with their spirits, and will live permanently on a new earth in the prime of life. Sickness and death will be unknown (Man, *JAI* xii. 161-2; but cf. Temple, *Census of India*, Calcutta, 1903, iii. 62).

Among the primitive pagan tribes of the Malay peninsula, Semang, Sakai, and Jakun, there is a considerable belief in retribution; the wicked, often identified with those who fear to meet the terrible beings of the soul-bridge, are condemned to a wretched existence, though sometimes they are submitted to a process of purification and permitted to enter Paradise. Paradise is a place for all others; it is situated in the firmament, and entered from the west. It is 'a glorified "Avilion," an "Island of Fruits," from which all that was noxious and distressing to man had been eliminated' (Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, 1906, i. 13).

The Semang and Jakun divide the firmament into three tiers; the two upper tiers are the Paradise of the blest, filled with wild fruit-trees. Some of the tribes make the moon the 'Island of Fruits,' which, in some songs, is preceded by a 'Garden of Flowers.' The choicest heaven is reserved for the old and wise.

Among the western Semang the island of fruit-trees is reserved for souls of *Biliens* ('medicine-men'); all others, save the wicked, go across the sea to a land of screw-pines and thatch-palms (ib. 186-7, 207-8). All souls, according to the Sakai, are purified in the infernal regions by 'Granny Langut,' after which they cross a great chopper over boiling water. The wicked fall in; the good finally proceed to the island of fruit-trees (ib. 230 ff.). Among the Jakun, the Blandas think that in the island of Fruits souls of the old become young; there is no pain or sickness there, and plenty of well-water. The *Beasli* locate it in the moon; it contains every kind of fruit-tree; there is perpetual feasting, and souls lie in idleness, or play musical instruments. The good alone are admitted to it. According to the Mantra, souls pass to Fruit Island in the west and live in harmony and enjoyment, feasting on its delicious fruits, marrying and having children. Pain, disease, and death are unknown. Souls of men who have died a bloody death go to Red Land, a desolate region, but obtain food from Fruit Island (ib. 298, 298, 321; *Jour. Ind. Archip.* i. 325).

The burial rites, especially of chiefs, among the Bushmen of S. Africa show a belief in the continuance of life; but their ideas are scantily recorded. Of the tribes living on the banks of the Gariep there is a myth of a paradise called *Too'ga* whither all go after death, and a safe journey is ensured by cutting off a finger-joint (Clow, *Nat. Races of S.A.*, 1905, i. 129). Equally vague are the notions of the Hottentots, who believe that there is a land above the sky-vault where things go on as on earth. Their divinity Tsui-goam lives in a beautiful heaven. Spirits of the dead exercise power over men and have a better insight into all matters; but whether they live in the land beyond the sky does not appear, though stars are the souls or eyes of the dead. The rites of interment also show a strong belief in the soul's continuance (Hahn, *Tsuni-goam*, 1881, pp. 23, 85, 105, 112 ff.; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, Breslau, 1872, p. 338).

Among the Eskimos of Greenland the general belief was that there were two regions: (1) in a cold sky or over-world, with hills and valleys and a heaven; the souls dwelt in tents on the shore of a lake with plenty of fish and fowl, though it is also said to have been a place of cold and famine; (2) in an underground domain of the god Tornarsuk, a blissful place with sunshine and perpetual summer, with water, fish, and fowl in plenty, while seals and reindeer were caught without trouble or found boiling alive in a great kettle.

Various accounts ascribe different causes for the presence of souls in either region. Thus the upper region is said to be for witches and the wicked, or again for all souls except those of great and heroic men, of those who had suffered much on earth, perished at sea, or died in childbirth. On the other hand, the destiny of the soul depended on the treatment of the body. If it was laid on the ground before death, it went downwards; if not, upwards. A terrible journey to the underground region had to be undertaken, and some souls perished on the way (Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, 1893, p. 238 ff.; Grant, *Greenland*, 1766, p. 258; Rink, *Tales and Trad. of the Eskimo*, 1876, pp. 37, 42).

3. *Polynesia*.—In Polynesia, while occasionally an abode of bliss for all is met with, as in the Mitchell Group, Niutao, and Nanumanga, in the heavens, or in Nukupetan, underground (Tia [Turner, *Samoa*, 1884, pp. 281, 286, 288]), in general there were different states allotted according to conditions of rank or class, while some were retributive, depending, however, upon ritual obedience rather than upon moral considerations. A subterranean other-world is frequently met with, while at the same time an abode in the heavens, the moon, in the west, or on an island is allotted to certain persons. In Samoa, Pulotu was under the sea, where the spirits bathed in 'the water of life' and became lively and bright, with no trace of infirmity, while the aged became young. This region was a replica of earth, but chiefs became pillars in the house of Saveasiuleo, its lord—an honour proudly anticipated by them before death. There was also a belief that chiefs and grandees went to the heavens, which opened to receive them (Turner, 257 ff.; Gill, *Myths and Songs of S. Pacific*, 1876, p. 168). In the Hervey

Group Avaiki was a hollow underground region whither all who died a natural death went to be eaten and annihilated by Miru. Warriors, after being swallowed by Rongo, climbed a mountain and thence went to a cheerful abode in the heavens, where, dowered with immortality and decked with flowers, they danced and enjoyed themselves, looking down with contempt on the wretches in Avaiki. This Elysium of the brave consisted of 10 successive heavens, and was the home of Tangaroa, the god of day. But in Raratonga warriors lived with Tiki underground, in a beautiful region with shrubs and flowers of undying fragrance, eating, drinking, dancing, and sleeping. Their admission here depended on their having brought a suitable offering (Gill, 18, 152 ff., 170). In the Society Islands, while the people descended to Po, members of the Areoi society, chiefs, and those whose families could afford sufficient offerings, went to the aerial paradise of perfumed Rohutu, where, amid beautiful scenes, every sensuous enjoyment was open to them. Neglect of certain rites and offerings might, however, debar them from it (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1832, i. 245, 352, 397, 403). The Sandwich Islanders thought that souls went to Po, the place of night, where they were eaten, though some became immortal spirits by this process. A few went to the underground paradise of Miru and Akea, while chiefs were led by a god to the heavens. This underground paradise was level and beautiful, and everything grew of itself. In Miru's part, souls amused themselves with noisy games; in Akea's there reigned a solemn peace (Ratzel, *Hist. of Mankind*, 1897, i. 315; Ellis, i. 366; Jones, *Sandwich Is.*, Boston, 1843, p. 42). For the spirits of the dead in Savage Island there was an underground region called Maui, but their favourite place was the land of Sina in the skies (Turner, 306). Another account says that the virtuous passed to *Ahonoa*, Everlasting Light, the virtues being chastity, theft from another tribe, and slaughter of enemies (Thomson, *JAI* xxi. [1901] 139). In Bowditch Island the common people went to a distant region of delights full of fruits and flowers, where they enjoyed feasting and dancing. Kings, priests, and their families went to the moon and enjoyed all sorts of pleasures, the moon itself being their food (*JAI* xxi. [1891-2] 51; Turner, 273). *Bolotu* was the Elysium of the Tonga Islanders, an island of gods and spirits of chiefs and men of rank. Flowers and fruits when plucked were immediately replaced; and dogs, when killed, came to life again. This exquisite region was not open to the people, whose souls died with their bodies. The Maori subterranean Hades, *Po* or the *Reinga*, is variously described. Sometimes it is regarded as a gloomy state with disgusting food, again as an excellent land like earth, visited by the sun, with rivers, good food, and many villages and people. It was also thought to be divided into several compartments, the lowest being the worst. Thither went all of lesser rank. *Po* was personified as a goddess, and in it was the living fountain in which the sun and moon bathed and were renewed. Great chiefs and heroes went to one of the heavens after death, or became stars. There was, however, some uncertainty as to whether the spirit went up or down, or remained near the body. *Karakias*, or prayers, aided its ascent. *Reinga* is described by one writer, probably confusing it with the sky-abode of chiefs, as a beautiful heaven where all things were abundant, with constant calm, perpetual sunshine and gladness (Nicholls, *JAI* xv. [1885], 200; see also Shortland, *Traditions of N.Z.*, 1854, ch. 7, *Maori Rel. and Myth*, 1882, pp. 45, 52; *JAI* xix. [1890] 118-9; Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 1855, pp. 103, 186, and *passim*).

Retribution was not strictly ethical, but ritual and ceremonial, as some of the above cases have shown. When the friend of a dead man in Nanumea gave a great funeral feast, the deceased was admitted to a heavenly land of light and clear waters; if not, he was sent to darkness and mud (Turner, 292). Entrance to *Mame*, the western paradise of Tamana, with its clear streams and abundant food, depended on an even number resulting when pebbles were thrown by the dead man's relatives. An odd number caused the spirit to be annihilated (*ib.* 294). In Pukapuka of the Hervey Group, *Vaerua* ate spirits which had committed ceremonial offences; all others went westwards to the house of *Reva*, where they passed a blissful existence. In Aitutaki, spirits which were provided with a coco-nut escaped by a ruse from being eaten by *Miru*, and went to the pleasant abode of *Iva*, where they feasted on the richest food and the finest sugar-cane (Gill, 171, 175). In Netherland Island, however, 'souls of the honest, kind, and gentle went and lived in light in Heaven. The thief, the cruel, and the ill-tongued went to a prison of darkness under the earth' (Turner, 301).

4. **Dayaks, Papuans, and Melanesians.**—The Dayaks exhibit a great diversity of beliefs, and the general disposition towards a retributive view, as well as the minute divisions of the future state, may owe something to Hindu or Muhammadan influences. More purely native beliefs are seen in the occasional idea that the other-world is a copy of this, or is open to all, or that a better fate awaits those who die a violent death or women dying in childbirth.

The Sea Dayaks of Sarawak believe in simple continuance. The dead build houses and make paddy fields; they are subject to the same inequalities as the living. But they can bestow on the living amulets and medicines of magical power (Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak and Borneo*, 1896, I. 215). Others, like the Sibuyows, think that six states are passed through, the wicked—thieves and great criminals—being punished in the first. Eventually the final heavenly state—beautiful, peaceful, and happy—is reached. The streets are clean and regular, the houses perfectly formed. There are lakes and rivers, gardens with fruit-trees and flowers, and the people are happy and rich. This place is enclosed by a great wall, while at a distance the souls of Malays have a *Kemping* (Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, 1896, I. 56). The Dusuns, the Idians, and other tribes place paradise at or near the top of a mountain which all souls ascend, and which is guarded by a fiery dog or some other monster. The wicked try unsuccessfully to ascend it (Pryer, *JAI* xvi. [1896] 283; Ling Roth, I. 220). The tribes of the Barito, Kapuas, and Kahlan river-basins have a similar belief. The entrance to the other-world is on a mountain peak. It has rivers rich in fish; in its midst is a sea surrounding an island on which grows a tree with pearls for fruit, golden blossoms, and fine cloth for leaves. It also furnishes the Water of Life, which the souls drink to become youthful (this is also effected by bathing in the sea). While the souls retain the positions of this world, all are free from care, every desire is followed by abundant fulfilment, and there are all kinds of enjoyments and rich gems and gold. Souls, however, eventually die, returning to the earth and entering a fruit or leaf, etc. Thieves, unjust chiefs, and those who turned a good into a bad cause are excluded from these enjoyments (Grabowsky, *Inter. AE*, II. 184 ff.; Ling Roth, citing Schwane, II. pp. cxxx ff., co). The Malans made the other-world resemble this, with seas, rivers, and sago plantations; but those who had died a violent death had a separate paradise from those who had died a natural death. Souls finally died, to reappear as worms, etc. (de Crespigny, *JAI* v. 36). Various places were allotted to the souls in the belief of the Kayans, according to the manner of their death. Those who died a violent death and women dying in childbirth mated in *Long Julian*, where they had all their wants supplied, did no work, and all became rich. Those who were drowned went to *Ling Yang*, a land of plenty below the rivers, where all property lost in the waters became theirs. A place of wretchedness was reserved for suicides (Hose, in Ling Roth, I. 220).

Among the Papuans of New Guinea and the adjacent islands there is a general belief in a future state, shown by the elaborate funeral ceremonies and by explicit beliefs. But these beliefs vary in different regions, and the other-world is located now on an island, now in the sky, now underground. Sometimes it is open to all, sometimes to those only who comply with various ritual observances; or, again, there are various places

according to the manner of death. It is conceived as a region of light and happiness; friends are reunited; hunger is unknown, and the souls enjoy an existence of hunting, fishing, and feasting.

In the Woodlarks all souls whose bodies have been tattooed go to the island of *Watum* by way of a serpent bridge, and enjoy to the full all the pleasures of life, the women cultivating and cooking food for their idle lords (Thomson, *British N.G.*, 1892, p. 184; Haddon, *FL*, 1894, p. 318). In the western islands of Torres Straits the abode of the dead was in a mythic island called *Kibu*, where ghosts sat twittering on the tree-tops; but those of the best men, greatest warriors and skull-hunters, were better off (Haddon, *JAI* xix. [1890] 318). In the eastern islands the spirit went under the sea to *Bag*, and eventually to the island of *Boigu*, being conducted thither by *Terer*, the first man from whose body the skin was scraped off. Here every one was happy and bright, had plenty of food, and did no work. The death ceremonies comforted the mourners, and gave them assurance of immortality (Hunt, *JAI* xxviii. [1898] 8; *Rep. Cambridge Exp. to Torres St.*, Cambridge, vi. [1906] 46, 128, 252-5). The Elema tribes of the Papuan Gulf, New Guinea, thought that those who died fighting went to the sky-land of the god of war, and could also roam about and annoy their enemies. Various localities were assigned to those dying a natural death, while those who were murdered or killed by crocodiles or snakes became wandering spirits (Holmes, *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 428). Other tribes entertain different ideas. Some think that all spirits live in *Tawru*, a glorious place where the souls welcome the newcomer, and where hunger is unknown. A similar western paradise called *Raka*, the place of plenty, is believed in by the Motu-motu people; but here only those whose noses are pierced enter it (Chalmers, *Pioneering in N.G.*, 1883, p. 169). In other districts the soul, or *mōs*, goes underground, and must cross a great water by a ladder. Here it meets a spirit which demands its earring and armband. If the soul has not these the ladder is tripped up, and the *mōs* falls into the water, whence there is no return. Otherwise it is met by two *mōs*, which conduct it to the subterranean villages where the ghosts dwell. They can re-visit their former home and bring good or ill luck (*Inter. AE*, xlii. 47).

Throughout Melanesia, while future life is a reflexion of life on earth, there is a general disposition to ascribe greater happiness to chiefs and warriors, and a greater amount of power to the disembodied spirits. But here also attention to ritual offers a special reward, and there is an approximation to retribution. The place of the dead is an island (Solomon and Loyalty Islands) or underground (New Britain, Santa Cruz, New Hebrides, Fiji). Sometimes there are different places for different classes, or according to the manner of life or death, and in general all these regions of the dead are reached with difficulty.

The people in the north of New Britain believe that souls which have enough shell-money to offer to the god can enter a desirable paradise called *Tinginalabaran*, but those which have not are sent to a bleak region. The Sultkas of the south coast have a subterranean paradise, *Mlot*, to which those only who can prove their life to have been satisfactory are admitted (Pullen-Burry, *Trans. 3rd Cong. Hist. Rel.* I. 84).

In the Solomon Islands the island of the dead is easily reached by ghosts which have their noses pierced (Florida), or have their hands marked with a conventional design, lacking which they are annihilated (*Yabel*). There are houses, gardens, and canoes in these island abodes; the ghosts bathe, and their laughter is heard. In some cases the common ghosts turn into white ants' nests and are eaten by more vigorous ghosts, who also at last undergo the same transformation (Codrington, *Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, 256 ff.). Similar beliefs are held in other islands of the group.

An underground world is believed in from the Torres Group to Fiji; and its usual name from Torres Islands to New Hebrides is *Panot*. The Banks Islanders think there are divisions in *Panot* for different classes of ghosts, e.g. youths dying in the flower of their age inhabit a more pleasant region with flowers and scented plants in abundance; or, according to the manner of death, there are places set apart for the souls. Sometimes murderers, sorcerers, and adulterers are excluded from the better *Panot*, a good place where ghosts enjoy life and live in harmony. *Panot* contains villages, houses, and trees with red leaves, and is a beautiful place. A great and bright feast on earth is compared to the ordinary life there. Men dance, sing, and talk, but there is no fighting. Life is happy if empty; there is no pain, sickness, or work. In some islands ritual observances determine the nature of existence there—a man with unpierced ears cannot drink water, the untattooed cannot eat good food (Codrington, 273-288). In Aniiteum (New Hebrides), the place of spirits, *Umatmas*, has two divisions, 'for good and for bad,' the bad being thieves, murderers, and liars. The former division is characterized by plenty of good food (Turner, 326).

In Fiji the way to the place of souls, *Mbulu*, was long and dangerous, and ritual and ceremonial observances decided the lot of the dead. Ghosts of bachelors were annihilated; all other ghosts had to be approved by Ndengel, great warriors especially gaining his favour. In *Mbulu* punishments were

awarded to those who displeased the gods, those who had not their ears bored or were not tattooed, or had not slain an enemy. Those who lied about themselves were struck down; some were eaten by the gods. Hence there were divisions in *Mbutu*, and of these *Mbutu* was the most Elysian. Here scented groves and pleasant glades and an unclouded sky were found, and an abundance of all that was most desirable to a native. Its delights were such that the word was commonly used to describe any great joy. A native song says, 'Death is easy . . . death is rest' (Williams, *Fiji*, 1858, i. 243 ff.). Mention is also made of a paradise of the gods, to which certain mortals were admitted by privilege (*ib.* i. 114).

5. *Africa*.—An Elysium conception is but slightly developed among the peoples of Africa, partly because some tribes have a vague idea of a future life, some, like the Dinka and Bari, believing in utter extinction (Hollis, *The Masai*, Oxford, 1905, p. 307), partly because with many others the belief in transmigration and re-incarnation is very strong. The cult of ancestors is, however, general, and shows that some kind of future existence is commonly believed in, though it is not definitely outlined, and many profess ignorance of its nature. But as the spirits of the dead are so often the gods of the living, and are adored as great spirits, this must argue that their lot, or that of the more important of them, is better than on earth, though expression of this is rare. Where a future state is described, it is most usually a heavenly or subterranean place where all go, and where the distinctions of rank, etc., still continue.

Thus, among the Nilotic Negroes, the Ja-luo hold that the spirits go up to the sky (Johnston, *Uganda*, 1902, ii. 779). Among the Nandi it is held that all, good and bad, go underground (Hollis, *Trans. 3rd Cong. Hist. Rel.*, Oxford, 1908, i. 87). With the Gallas, wood that has been burning a little is put on the grave, and if it grows, this denotes that the spirit is happy in the other-world (Macdonald, *Africana*, 1882, i. 229). The general belief of the West African Negroes is in an underground shadow world where the king is still king, the slave a slave, and the conditions and occupations of earth are continued in a ghostly form. The sun shines there when it sets here, and there are mountains, forests, rivers, plants, animals, villages, etc. There are pleasures and pains, but every one there grows backward or forward into the prime of life, and there is no diminution of strength or bodily waste. Among the Yoruba-speaking peoples it is called *Ipo-oku*, 'The Land of the Dead'; among the Tshi, *Srahmandazi*, 'The Land of Ghosts'; and the general opinion of it is summed up in the proverb, 'One day in this world is worth a year in *Srahmandazi*' (Kingsley, *Travels in W.A.*, 1897, pp. 488, 578; Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 1887, p. 1671; *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, 1894, p. 127; Burton, *Dahome*, 1864, ii. 156). These ideas are also found among the Bantu tribes of W. Africa, though their notion of the locality of the spirit-world is vaguer—it is underground or all around. It is free from certain bodily limitations, and the rich or persons of rank form a special class of spirits, the *aviri*. Probably since contact with white men a belief has arisen in 'white man's land' beneath the sea, whither some of the dead go and find a happy future, becoming white (Nasau, *Fetichism in W.A.*, 1904, pp. 56 ff., 237; Kingsley, 519; *JAI* xiii. [1884] 476). Much the same may be said of the Eastern Bantus. All spirits live, but how employed or where no one knows (*JAI*, 1892-3, xxii. 116). The spirit-world is peopled in much the same way as this, but we hear in some tribes of Mulungu assigning their places to the dead, though there is no idea of retribution (but cf. Waits, *Anthrop.*, Leipzig, 1880, ii. 425 [souls of good men go to Mulungu, among the Ba-Ngindo]), and that the spirits 'go on high.' Among the Bondel the souls go to Milinga, a divine mountain, entering by a brass door. There is recognition beyond the grave, and the spirit lives with its dead relatives. Spirits are worshipped as gods, and have great influence on earthly affairs, while sometimes the ghost of a dead chief will have a mountain as his residence (Macdonald, i. 60, 67-9, 108, 297; Dale, *JAI* xxv. 232). A more definite Elysium conception appears with the Kimbunda of S.W. Africa, in whose *Kalunga*, or world of the dead, there are feasting, plenty of women, hunting and dancing, while life goes better than in this world (Magyar, cited by Tylor, ii. 77). The conceptions of the southern Bantus are also vague, though some hold that the spirit ascends to heaven or 'goes home' (Macdonald, *JAI* xx. [1891] 120-1). With the Zulus, while there is much doubt as to the position of the spirit-world, there are clear references to an underground region of spirits where Unkulunkulu is. Stories tell of visits paid by the living there, and of its landscapes like those of this world, its villages, cattle, etc. This belief is now much mingled with the idea that the *amatongo*, or spirits, appear on earth as snakes. Even in this the differences of rank are continued, chiefs appearing as poisonous, common people as harmless, snakes (Callaway, *Rel. of the Amasulu*, 1884, *passim*, *Nursery Tales* . . . of the Zulus, 1868, i. 116 ff.). The Basutos also locate the spirit-world underground. Some say that it has green valleys and immortal speckled cattle—an Elysium idea—but generally it is thought that the shades wander calmly and silently, without joy and without grief. There is no idea of

retribution, though this may have existed formerly (Cassidy, *Les Bassoutos*, Paris, 1859, pp. 261, 268).

The idea of rank, etc., determining the state of spirits is curiously held among the Masai. Souls of common people are annihilated, but those of the rich or medicine-men become sacred snakes, while spirits of certain great people go to heaven (Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 832; Hollis, 307-8). Merker, however, states that the good are admitted to a paradise full of all beautiful and glorious things. Luxuriant grazing-grounds with cattle, alternate with seas, rivers, and cool groves, whose trees are hung with the rarest fruits. Souls live without trouble, pain, or labour, re-united to their departed relatives. Evil-doers are sent to a waterless waste (*ZE* xxxv. [1908] 736).

Retributive ideas are said to exist among some Negro tribes, though the evidence must be received with caution. Souls of good men ascend to heaven, sometimes by the Milky Way, the path of the ghosts, in the belief of the Krus, Soherbros, and Odechi, the evil being punished (Waits, ii. 191). But Bosman's account of the beliefs of the Guinea Negroes on this subject shows what 'goodness' means here. There is a judgment of souls after death: the good, viz. those who have strictly observed ceremonial and religious laws, and thus have not offended the gods, are sent to a happy and pleasant Paradise; offending souls are slain or drowned (Pinkerton, *Voyages*, xvi. 401). Among the Agni also, souls of the good begin a new life analogous to this after death (*L'Anthropologie*, Paris, iv. [1893] 434), and this is said to be true of some of the tribes on the Upper Congo, who think that *Longa*, the nether world, is tenanted by souls of the good (Weeks, *PL* xii. [1901] 184). It is not improbable that a belief in a future judgment is taught in the Secret Societies of W. Africa.

6. *North American Indians*.—While the tribes of North America occasionally represented the future life as a mere copy of this, e.g. the Maricopas, the more general conception was that it opened out a richer, fuller, and happier state to all, or to warriors, men of rank, the rich, etc., or to the good; for more than among other savage races the American tribes had developed the idea of future retribution on ethical grounds. In some cases the division between good and bad shows a Christian colouring, and the native belief may simply have been that certain souls alone could enter the happy state, others being debarred, i.e. those who died a violent death, those who were too feeble to encounter the dangers of the soul-journey, cowards, or those for whom sufficient offerings had not been made at their tomb. But in other cases those who are debarred or are sent to a gloomy region are wicked, they have committed offences against tribal law, and are a plague to society, as among the Delawares, Blackfeet, and Ojibwas.

Where a state common to all was believed in, it was thought to continue all the pursuits of earthly life under absolutely untrammelled conditions. Hunting and fishing were pursued without difficulty, and always with success. There would be neither want nor sorrow. The woods, lakes, streams, and plains would not only be more beautiful, but would swarm with every desirable creature. The 'happy hunting grounds' were the natural paradise of hunting tribes, and there they dwelt with the chief divinity or 'great spirit' in supreme felicity. Many poetical and sensuous descriptions of this land are to be found in the myths of various tribes, but all things in it were as incorporeal as the spirit itself, 'the hunter and the deer a shade.' Generally it was thought to be in heaven, the Milky Way forming the way thither, as with the Clallams, some N. Californian tribes, the Iroquois, and the Winnibagoes (*NR* iii. 522; Macfie, *Vancouver Island*, 1865, p. 448; Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, 1851, p. 176; Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, Philad., 1853-6, iv. 240). Or it was in the region of the rising sun, or on a mountain (the Mojaves, *NR* iii. 526). The Navahos thought it was below the earth, whence men had once come forth. There all things grew luxuriously, and the spirits enjoyed peace and plenty (*NR* iii. 528).

Among many tribes bravery in war as well as rank earned for men the abode of bliss, while the medicine-men taught that it was a recompense for success in life (Copeway, *Ojibwa Nation*, 1847, p. 32). Cowards and common people were debarred or might enter Elysium only after a long period of

suffering. With the Ahts, chiefs and warriors went to the beautiful heaven of Quawteaht, untroubled by storms and frost, revelling in sunshine and abundance of game. All others went to the subterranean kingdom of Chayher (Sproat, 209). The western paradise of the Ojibwas and the southern of the Chinooks were open only to brave hunters and warriors. The Ojibwas thought of it as a great village in a fine country, with continual amusements and dances, and plenty of food. War was unknown; the hunter obtained his prey without the fatigue of pursuit (Jones, *Ojibway Inds.*, 1861, p. 104). Chiefs and medicine-men among the Virginian tribes went to a western paradise of perpetual happiness, where they smoked, danced, and sang with their forefathers; all others were annihilated (Pinkerton, *Voyages*, xiii. 14, 41). The Natchez, the Tensas, and the Apalaches held that chiefs and warriors went to reside in the glorious land of the sun (Müller, *Amer. Urreligionen*, Basel, 1855, p. 66 ff.). Far more elaborate in such divisions was the eschatology of the ancient Mexicans, who assigned the dead to three regions. The emperor, nobles, and fallen warriors were borne eastwards to the paradise of Huitzilopochtli, where honeyed flowers and luscious fruits abounded in shady groves, and rich hunting parks awaited the happy spirit. They accompanied the sun daily in triumph to the zenith, and then returned to their blissful Elysium. Finally, they were transformed into birds with golden plumage. Women dying in childbirth were also admitted to this paradise, and, dressed as warriors, escorted the sun from the zenith. An earthly paradise free from sorrow, and abounding in every kind of fruit and vegetable, was open to those dying of certain diseases, to the drowned, and to sacrificial victims. This was the perpetual summer land of Tlalocan. Mictlan, a gloomy underground or northern region, was assigned to all who died from any other cause (Reville, *Rel. of Mexico and Peru*, 1884; Sahagun, *Hist. Gen.*, *passim*).

In some of these instances bravery and cowardice determine the fate of the soul. This approaches to an ethical distinction according to the native moral standard, and doubtless underlies many of the instances usually cited of more strictly retributive justice. Thus, with the Nez Percés and some Haidah tribes, the wicked and those who had not died the warrior's death were sent for a time to a desolate region before being admitted to the land of light, the paradise of slain warriors in the heavens, with its gift of perpetual youth, its cedar and shell houses, its delicious fruits, its repose (*JAI* xxi. [1891] 17; Macfie, *Vancouver Is.* 457). Again, ritual goodness rather than ethical must often be understood, as among the Nicaraguans, whose paradise of slain warriors, the blissful abode of the gods in the East, was open also to those who had obeyed the gods (*NR* iii. 543). But sometimes offences against morality are particularly mentioned as debarring men from bliss. Women guilty of infanticide and murderers of a fellow-tribesman were excluded from the Blackfeet paradise (Richardson in Franklin, *Second Expedition*, London, 1828), while the thief and murderer among the Okinagans, cowards, adulterers, thieves, the greedy, the idle, and liars among the Ojibwas, liars and thieves among the Delawares, were excluded from the abode of bliss (*NR* iii. 519; Jones, 102-3; Brainerd, *Life and Journal*, Edin. 1908, p. 503). We hear also among the Chippewas of the soul being examined, those with whom good predominated being borne to the enchanted island paradise, while others sank for ever in the waters (Dunn, *Oregon*, 1844, p. 104). Such a discrimination between good and bad is found among the Eurocs, Yumas, Choctaws, Pawnees, New Eng-

land tribes, and Mayas, and the character of their Elysium is described with much monotony of language.

To the Eurocs it is a region of bright rivers, sunny slopes, and green forests, beyond the earth, the chasm being crossed by a pole from which the wicked fall (*NR* iii. 524). The Yumas placed it in a happy valley hidden in the Colorado (*ib.* 527). The beautiful paradise of the Choctaws lay behind a dark river in the west (Catlin, *N. Am. Ind.* 1842, ii. 127). More unique was the Mayan paradise, where the good lay in tranquil repose under the beautiful *yazche* tree, eating and drinking voluptuously (*NR* iii. 541). But most typical of the Indian paradise is the description found in an Algonquin myth of a hunter who went to the land of souls in the south to recover his bride. The path became ever more beautiful as he went on. He reached a lodge, where he had to leave his body; his soul bounded through the shadow-world and crossed the lake where the spirits of the wicked met their fate. Now he reached the happy island of souls where there was never cold or tempest, or any need to labour, for the air itself nourished the souls, and where, amid eternal sunshine, they wandered through the blissful fields (Schoelcraft, i. 521). See also AMERICA.

7. South American Indians.—Of the numerous tribes of S. America, taken as a whole, it is difficult to generalize concerning their ideas of a happy other-world. The earlier beliefs of some of the Christianized tribes have not been recorded. Certain tribes simply believed in the soul hovering round the grave, others in transmigration; others, like the Abipones, were ignorant of the soul's status after death (Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, 1822, ii. 75, 269). We can speak only of a number of tribes concerning whom information is not lacking. Of these it may be said that, while the other-world life continued the conditions and circumstances of life here, and though it may occasionally have been regarded as disagreeable (Müller, 286), yet it was more frequently looked forward to as being happier and pleasanter (Spilsbury, *Trans. 3rd Cong. Hist. of Rel.* i. 94). Some tribes believed in a general place for all the dead; others in a separate place for chiefs, men of rank, or brave warriors. Retributive conceptions had scarcely arisen even in the higher tribes, or, where they have been alleged, they may be traced to missionary influence. The journey to the other-world was one of great danger and difficulty; its situation lay in the sky, in the west, or on the earth's surface, or was underground.

Among the tribes for whom the future life was one of bare continuance of the present for all alike, in a region where they hunted, fished, and rejoined their forefathers, may be mentioned the Matacos and Muyscas (in a region underground [Baldrich, *Las Camarcas Virgenes*, Buenos Ayres, 1890, p. 12; Reclus, *Univ. Geog.* xviii. 173]), the Bakairi, Calino, Yaguas, Ucuapes, Mbocobi, and Arawaks (Koch, *Inter. AE*, xiii. [Supp.] 120, 121, 122; D'Orbigny, *Voy. dans l'Amer. mérid.*, Paris, 1839, iv. pt. 1 ['L'Homme Américain'], 233; Reclus, xix. 112).

The other-world was conceived of by numerous tribes as a happy Elysium. In Hayti the Indians thought that the spirits had as their place of sojourn the valleys of the western part of the island, dwelling in the clefts of the rocks by day, and coming out at night to enjoy the delightful fruits of the *mamey* trees. They rejoiced in the shady and flowery arbours of these beautiful valleys (Müller, 174). The Puri Indians placed Paradise in a pleasant wood full of *sapucaja* trees and game, where the soul was happy in company of all the deceased (Spix and Martius, *Travels in Brasil*, 1824, ii. 250). Many of the tribes of Chili placed their paradise across the sea towards the setting sun, and mythically described it in terms of their ideas of the highest bliss (Pöppig, *Reise in Chili*, Leipzig, 1835, p. 393). The Patagonians located it in vast underground caverns, where their deities dwelt, and whither they went to live with them. Abundance of cattle and liquor was found there, and the dead enjoyed an eternity of drunkenness (Falkner, *Patagonia*, Hereford, 1774, pp. 142-3). More usually a heavenly or a western paradise awaited the Indian.

In this place of all sensuous delights enjoyed to the full, they would take pleasure in everything which they had desired or possessed on earth. It was endowed with glorious hunting grounds and fishing streams and rich forests. Or they fed on rich fruits, which required no toil or labour of cultivation. Life there was restful and peaceful, without suffering or grief, and with the added delights of drinking, feasting, and dancing. There they met all their dead relatives, and their wives existed in beauty and youthfulness. Such were the beliefs of the Guarayos, Guaranis, Chiriguano, Araucanians, Yuracaris, Ottomaken, Apiaca, Warranus, Bahairi, Guajiro, Pampas tribes, and others (D'Orbigny, 109-110, 164, 337, 342, 347; Molina, *Chili*, Leipzig, 1791, p. 72; Castelnau, *Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amér.*, Paris, 1850, ii. 314; Schomburgk, *Reisen*, Leipzig, 1847, ii. 446; *Ausland*, 1865, p. 338). The Saliva Indians placed their paradise in the moon, and thought of it as a place without mosquitoes (Tylor², ii. 70).

A division according to rank is met with among the Guaycuras, who thought that chiefs and medicine-men hovered round the moon and went to regions of pleasure and enjoyment (Martius, *Zur Ethnog. Amer.*, Leipzig, 1867, i. 233). More usually bravery, as opposed to cowardice, merited the abode of bliss. Among the Chiriguano, brave warriors and good fathers went to an earthly paradise full of delight and feasting, with abundance of women and *chicha*, where they devoted themselves to singing and dancing (Koch, *op. cit.* 119). The Caribs of the Antilles believed that spirits of brave warriors dwelt in pleasant islands like those of their own land, abounding in delicious fruits. There all their wishes were fulfilled; they feasted and danced, and had their enemies as their slaves. Cowards, on the other hand, would become slaves to the Arawaks. It was also believed that warriors went to the sun or became stars. Im Thurn says that the present Caribs of the mainland think of the spirits as remaining near their present dwellings, while some hope to become white men or go to Sky-land, a copy of this world, whence their ancestors came (*Indians of Guiana*, 1883, p. 359 ff.; Rochefort, *Isles Antilles*, Rotterdam, 1681, p. 430). Some of the Pampas tribes believed that in the heavenly abode of Pillau warriors enjoyed eternal drunkenness, broken only by great hunts, in which they slew so many ostriches that their feathers, falling down, formed the clouds (Reclus, *Prim. Folk*, n.d., 105). Goodness and virtue are sometimes expressly mentioned as meriting paradise, but on examination this proves to mean savage bravery. Thus the Tupinamba thought that after death those who had lived virtuously, i.e. who had avenged themselves on and eaten many enemies, would go behind high mountains, where they would dance in beautiful gardens with their ancestors (Lery, *Voyage fait en la Terre du Bresil*, La Rochelle, 1578, p. 262). So, too, among the Chibchas, good men were those who fell in war, and they, with women dying in childbed, enjoyed a blissful future (Koch, 128). In the same way may be interpreted the respective beliefs of the Yaler, that those who 'lived well' went to heaven; of the Yaruros, that the good went to a place where they enjoyed divine food; and of the Wazanos, that, while the souls of common people went to heaven, the good attained to a superior region, where they found beautiful women, rich hunting grounds, and continuous feasts, and did no work, but spent the night in merry dances (Koch, 127). Among the ancient Peruvians there was no distinction between good and evil beyond the grave. While the bulk of the people went to a dreary underground region, a heavenly paradise was the lot of the higher classes. The Incas went to the dwelling of the Sun, their father; nobles and great warriors were

received in the heavenly world of Haman Pacta, where their happiness consisted in perfect freedom from evil, in repose and peace, and they were waited on by the wives and slaves who had been put to death with them (Müller, 402-3; Prescott, *Peru*, 1890, p. 42).

8. Sky-land.—Among most of the peoples whose conceptions of an abode of the blest have been discussed, there is also frequently found a belief in a happy world of other beings, often divine, above the sky. Man peopled the upper region, of which the sky seemed to be the floor, with the creatures of his imagination. Especially was this the case when his world of the dead was situated elsewhere. Thus the Zulus, believing in an under world of spirits, thought that above the blue sky, conceived as a rock, was a heavenly country, the abode of a remote powerful being and of a nation of heavenly men (Callaway, *op. cit.* 63, 117 ff., 393 ff., *Nursery Tales*, i. 152, 316). Again, as the sky seemed to rest on earth at the horizon, or on lofty mountains, or even on high trees, so in many myths all these form means by which Sky-land can be reached. Or it rests on pillars, or may be reached by a bridge, a ladder, a rope, etc. There is little doubt that these ideas survive in tales of the Jack and the Beanstalk cycle (see *CF* 432; BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Slavonic]; BRIDGE). Medicine-men often claim to visit that land, either by some of these means or by a bodily or spirit flight, just as they also claim the power of visiting the world of the dead. This is a very common belief in Australia (Spencer-Gillen^b, 629; Howitt, 388, 391). In one case, when the flowers withered because Baiamai left the earth, the *wireenuns* ascended a mountain and were carried to the sky, where they were allowed to carry off the fadeless flowers of the heaven-land (Parker, *More Aust. Legend. Tales*, 84).

Legends of culture-heroes ascending to the sky-land, and returning thence with the elements of civilization or performing other feats, are of frequent occurrence in the lower culture.

In a Melanesian instance, the hero reaches the upper world and teaches the Sun's children to make fire and cook (Codrington, 366). An earthly son of Tui Langa, king of the sky, went thither by a magic tree, according to a Fiji legend, and learnt there how to slay the local gods (*FLJ* v. 256). In a Polynesian story, Loeli ascends to the sky and compels its people to give him shoots of *taro*, 'ava, and the coco-tree, hitherto unknown on earth (Turner, 106). *Si Jura*, in a Dayak myth, climbs to the Pleiades by a magic tree, and learns the secret of rice cultivation (Ling Roth, *op. cit.* i. 307). In other cases, of which there are many variants, the hero ascends above the sky and captures the sun, compelling it to go more slowly in its course (*CF* 439 ff.; Turner, 200). There are also many American Indian tales of visits paid to the land of the Sun above the solid rocky vault of heaven (*19 RBEW* 252, 436, 440).

Other heroes visit Sky-land to obtain a wife, or to regain her, or to dwell with her there.

In Samoa, Lu ascended to Tangaloa's beautiful place of rest in the sky, and was given his daughter as wife (Turner, 13). In many tales, when a mortal has captured a daughter of the sky who has descended to earth, she sometimes returns thither; but he follows her and regains her, sometimes remaining there. Of this there are Maori and other Polynesian, Melanesian, and Malay versions (Grey, *Polynes. Myth.*, 1908, p. 42, Codrington, 397; Tylor, *Early Hist. of Mankind*, 1875, 346), while the idea recurs in European and other variants of the Swan-maiden cycle. There are also several versions of the story of a hero going to the sky to dwell with his immortal wife, or with some other relative, usually then becoming immortal (Grey, *op. cit.* 58; Farrer, *Primitive Manners and Customs*, 1879, p. 256 [Algonquin]; Cole, *IA*, 1875 [Santal]; Brett, *Legends . . . of British Guiana*, n.d., 29).

These stories may be compared with another large group in which visits to the world of the dead are paid to obtain a boon, to regain a lost wife, etc., or to a vague under world or fairy region (*CF* 46, 438).

Other myths tell of an earlier Golden Age when gods and men dwelt together on earth or in heaven, or how the ascent to the sky was easily accomplished by some of the means already mentioned. But this at last came to an end, and the means of intercourse was broken off (see *FALL*, § ii. 3 and 18).

Thus the Eskimos, the Voguls, and the Hurons have myths of the peopling of the earth by a pair from heaven (Nansen, *op. cit.*

250 ff.; Lang², I. 181). Many myths of the Algonquin tribes tell of a woman cast out of heaven, from whom men are descended (Brinton, *American Hero-Myths*, Philad. 1882, p. 64). In other cases those who come to earth from the sky lose their immortality (Tongson [Mariner, II. 116] *Cingalese* [Forbes-Leake, *Early Races*, Edin. 1866, I. 177]; Uganda [Johnston, II. 704]; Fantî [Smith, *Nouveau Voyage de Guinée*, 1744, II. 176]), or can never return thither because of some accident (*Negroes* [Ratzel, II. 354]; Carib, etc. [Im Thurn, 377; Brett, 103, 107]). These are akin to another group, mainly S. African and American Indian, in which men ascend to earth from an under world (Casalis, 254, 261; M. I. 325; Knortz, *Aus dem Wiganam*; *CF*, p. 447; 9 *RBEW*, p. 16). This upper or under world is occasionally the paradise where men hope to go after death. Intercourse with the sky-land being broken off through the destruction of the means of ascent or descent is exemplified in myths from Australia, Polynesia, and Fernando Po (Spencer-Gillen³, 623; Turner, 199; Kingsley, *op. cit.* 507). Cf. also a Kirghis legend of former intercourse with the people of a mountain, where fruit trees bear all the year round, flowers never wither, women are always beautiful and young, death, cold, and darkness are unknown, and all are happy, whereas men on earth are now miserable (Sven Hedin, *Through Asia*, 1898, I. 221). A funeral chant among the Basutos suggests the existence of a bright and happy sky-land, whither men cannot go (Casalis, 256).

9. Reviewing these primitive notions of a state of the blest, we see that, even where they suggest a reward for goodness, the delights of Paradise are mainly sensual, or at least sensuous. A suggestion of more spiritual conceptions may be seen, perhaps, in the thought that the blest now dwell with a god or gods, or in the poetical descriptions of the beauty of the land. But any true spiritual outlook is generally wanting, and the ethical conception of this Elysium as a reward for righteousness is not found in such religions as those of Mexico and Peru, where the belief in sin as an offence against the gods was comparatively well developed.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited, see Tylor², chs. 12, 13; R. M. Dorman, *Origin of Primitive Superstitions*, Philadelphia, 1881; Koch, *Inler. AE*, Supplement, Leyden, xiii. (1900), 'Zum Animismus der Südamerikanischen Indianer'; E. L. Moon Conard, *RHR* xiii. (1900) 244 ff., 'Idées des Indiens Algonquins relatives à la vie d'outre-tombe'.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Buddhist).—From an orthodox Buddhist point of view * it must be said that the only 'blest' are the saints who have entered absolute nirvāṇa. Owing to their approximation to this goal, the epithet may be applied, by anticipation or metaphor, (1) to the saints who are to enter nirvāṇa at the end of this present life (i.e. who possess nirvāṇa-on-earth [see artt. ARHAT† and JIVANMUKTA])—this is Little Vehicle; (2) to those who have taken the 'vow' of becoming Buddhas, and meantime enjoy the joy of 'giving' and of saving creatures—a joy more pleasing than is the savour of nirvāṇa itself (see artt. BODHISATTVA)—that is Great Vehicle. Nevertheless, there is place in both Vehicles for categories or abodes of the Blest.

I. Little Vehicle.—The 'heavens' of the Little Vehicle have been, for the greater part, adopted and adapted from Brāhmanic or Hindu belief. To understand the exact position of the Buddhist thinkers, the following is of importance.

The fundamental characteristic of the True Law, its historical and dogmatic ground and root, is the conviction (intuition or belief) that no 'existence' whatever can be absolutely happy. Such, it appears to the present writer, is the real significance of the Buddhist pessimism—a topic open from every side to serious mistakes (see artt. PESSIMISM).

Like Aupanishadic Brahmins, Buddhists (i.e. Buddhist monks, *bhikkhus*, not laymen, *upāsakas*) aim at perfect and eternal happiness; they feel, or profess to feel, disgust for any sort of transitory happiness, and without consideration for sensual joys, here or hereafter, they press on the road (*mārga*, *pratipad*) that leads to nirvāṇa, to eternal refreshment. But there is certainly some sort of

* The reader is aware that this expression always involves subjective appreciation.

† Arhats are styled *visuddhīdeva*, 'purity-gods'; contrasted with kings, *sammudhīdeva*, 'opinion-gods,' and gods, *upapattīdeva*, 'born gods' (*Vibhanga*, p. 422).

happiness in the world of becoming, in the 'wheel of transmigrations' (*bhavachakra*). The brute creation itself is not devoid of agreeable sensations; men are sometimes at ease; gods are by definition the possessors of bliss.

No adherent of the Buddhist teaching ventures to doubt the happiness and the power of the gods. Monks (*bhikkhus*) think that they have to strive for something far better than paradises (*svarga*); nevertheless, as is clear from Aśoka's lapidary sermons, as well as from many passages of the Pāli canon of Scriptures, Buddha and Buddhists (monks and laymen) lay great stress on the retribution of deeds in a further life. The Master commended the doing of good actions (in order to be re-born as a happy man or as a god), avoiding bad actions (in order to avoid unhappy human existences, animal births, or hell); and, for the wise, the avoiding of both good and bad actions: abstinence from desire and from action (the latter for producing and securing the former) being necessary to holiness, to nirvāṇa. Birth in heaven often appears as a progress towards emancipation, although, as will be seen, men alone, not gods, can enter the path of release.

It must be borne in mind that (1) human happiness is always mixed with suffering (as human birth is produced by mixed actions, 'black' and 'white'); (2) sensual pleasures always turn to suffering; (3) every pleasure is an obstacle to supreme beatitude, as it enforces clinging to existence. Therefore no one who has seen the truths (i.e. who has entered the stream of release, *srotāḍpanna*) can strive after transitory and ambiguous rewards.

1. Amongst men, two categories are worth noticing: (a) the inhabitants of the Northern continent (Uttarakuruḍvīpa, Autarakaurava [see artt. HYPERBOREANS]);* (b) the 'wheel-kings,'† or universal monarchs (*Chakravartin*), who embody the Indian ideal of earthly sovereignty. Men indeed, —as it is forcibly said by the scholiasts,—but possessing supernatural faculties and powers, although they live on earth, they feel themselves at home in the atmospheric or heavenly regions. Their body is characterized by the 'marks' (*lakṣaṇa*) of the 'great beings' (*mahāpuruṣa*, 'great man,' 'great male'—a name of Viṣṇu); they conquer one, two, three, or the four continents,‡ have successful wars with goblins of all kinds and even with gods, enjoy the possession of the 'seven treasures' (elephant-treasure, wife-treasure, etc.); they reign with justice, but not without kingly pride. Nevertheless, like ordinary men, they are susceptible of becoming disgusted with transitory life (although they live for centuries!) and of

* The analogy between the Hyperboreans and the 'men of the Northern continent' has been pointed out by Sp. Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 14), who gives a brief description of this continent. We may observe that, amongst many characteristics (longevity, everlasting youth, no premature death, no death in embryonic state, living from the Desire-Tree, re-birth as god or as man, etc.), the Autarakauravas are 'moral by nature' (*prakṛtiśīla*); they 'have all things in common, and have no private rights'; they do not commit bad actions (*akusala-karmapatha*), but do not free themselves from 'thirst relative to agreeable objects' (*kāmaśākhari tṛṣṇā*); there is no 'restraint' (*samvara*), because there is no 'rule' (*dāsa*). Therefore there is no entrance on the Path of release; and Bodhisattvas are not born there (*Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, *Ātandīya sūtranta* [Grimblot, p. 336]; *Mahāvastu*, I. 108; Wassilief, *Buddhismus*, p. 248).

† On the Chakravartins see *Mahāsudassanavuttā*, tr. by Rhys Davids, *SBE* xi. 238; Senart, *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*; *Divyavadāna*, pp. 210–224: the standard text (Chinese sources) is named by Takakusu, *JPTS*, 1905, p. 117. The Chakravartins have a place in the scholastic theory of the 'stages of a Bodhisattva' (see artt. BODHISATTVA) [the *Sikṣasamuchchaya* states that they 'save the beings' (p. 175, 10)]. W. Hopkins, like Ed. Hardy and others, believes that the idea of an universal monarch is post-Aśokan (*Great Epic of India*, New York, 1901, p. 396, n. 2).

‡ But, like Buddhas, two Chakravartins cannot coexist. Like Bodhisattvas, they enter their mother's womb with full consciousness.

entering the path of salvation.* Such is not the case with the Hyperboreans and the gods.

2. The various schools differ, however, on this last point,—conflicts of scholastic views are the crux of Buddhist dogma,—but the common opinion is that there is no *brahmacharya* ('chastity,' 'life of holiness') amongst gods.† Heavenly beings do not forget that they owe their actual 'promotion to godship' to former good deeds, and their 'morality' is therefore strongly established against sinful delusions.‡ But, being re-born for joy, they cannot, as it seems, fully or profitably realize the truth of suffering—which is the root of the Buddhist holiness. Gods, we say, are possessors of bliss, but (it is not an easy task to reconcile these contradictions) they know that their happiness will come to an end when the treasure of merits shall be exhausted; and they are therefore troubled by anxiety (*pariṇāmaduḥkhata*)§—the more so that, owing to the mysterious law of retribution, a god may be re-born as a beast or as an inhabitant of hell (see art. KARMA).

Gods are of different kinds. Without attempting a general survey of the matter, we must distinguish: (1) Sensual heavens (*kāmadhātu*), where sexual pleasure exists. But sexual union, in the celestial spheres, is not what Buddhists call *grāmadharma*, 'rural practice,' 'secular practice.' Gods enjoy pleasure and beget by simple contact, touching the hands, looking or smiling at one another, etc.|| On the cosmical disposition of these blissful realms, see art. COSMOLOGY (Buddhist). (2) Material heavens (*rūpadhātu*), inhabited by gods liberated from sexual enjoyment; sensations of taste and smell are also absent, sometimes consciousness too. (3) Non-material heavens (*arūpyadhātu*), with four stages of perfection; it is difficult to say if they ought to be understood as 'abodes' (since there is no matter) or 'subjective states' (since they are depicted as successive storeys). Their common characteristic seems to be the gradual loss of consciousness. Like the 'material heavens,' they are truly Buddhist combinations or fancies, being inhabited by saints who have not realized in the inferior stages the absolute freedom from thought and desire necessary to release, and who must wait for some centuries in the happy and transitory unconsciousness of the 'non-material' worlds, before merging into the happier and definitive freedom of nirvāṇa. Heavens above sensual realms—which have only been 'Buddhized' a little—are no more than prolonged trances, analogous, but for their limits, to the trances of the holy life (see art. DHYĀNA).

II. Great Vehicle.—The piety of the so-called 'new' Buddhism has evolved paradises very like the Christian or the Vaiṣṇavite abodes¶ of the

* See *Mahāvastu*, p. 191.

† See *Kāthāvatthu*, I. 3, III. 10; Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 191; Wassilief, *Buddhismus*, pp. 247, 255; *Abhidharmakośa*; cf. *Mūlinda*, tr. by Rhys Davids, *SBE* xxxv. p. 31. A future Buddha is never re-born in one of the highest heavens (*Majjhima*, I. 82), as their inhabitants are 'fixed' (*niyata*) for the 'nirvāṇa of Arhats.' On the salvation of gods, cf. 'Vedānta,' *SBE* xxxviii. 457.

‡ Literally: 'The roots of merit cannot be broken, as it happens, for men,' because they are firm believers in karma.

§ On the 'suffering' peculiar to gods, see, for instance, Nāgārjuna's *Friendly Epistle*, tr. by Wenzel, *JPTS*, 1896, p. 27, and *Karuṇapūṇḍarikā* (BTS), p. 24 ff.

|| A good summary will be found in Sp. Hardy, *Manual*; Beal, *Catena*, p. 68. It is worth observing that such gods as the Thirty-three (a category of sensual gods inherited from Vedic times) have now for sovereign the mother of Śākyamuni, re-born as a male deity. It would be impious to suppose that his retinue indulges in sensual pleasures!

¶ Amongst Vaiṣṇavite paradises, the Cow-world (*goloka*) and the *Vaikuṇṭha*—a kingdom in the Northern Ocean (compare the Hyperboreans) or on the eastern peak of mount Meru (compare the heaven of Indra and the Thirty-three)—are more celebrated in later times than the *Svetadvīpa*, 'the white island'—a sort of Atlantis situated in the extreme North, beyond the Sea of Milk' (Barth, *Religions*, p. 193), well known from the *Mahābhārata*, inhabited by monotheistic saints very like the future

Blessed. The happiness is now of a purely spiritual nature (in contrast with the *svargas*, inhabited by sensual gods and nymphs), and essentially devotional (in contrast with the self-culture and unconscious blissfulness which are the chief elements of the 'orthodox' Buddhist meditations). Such a paradise is the *Tuṣita*-heaven (the realm inhabited by the gods *Tuṣitas*, 'the satisfied ones'), the regular abode of the future Buddhas of our world during their last existence but one. There reigned Śākyamuni, then named Svetaketu, before his last birth; there now reigns and preaches Maitreya, the future saviour.* But, as a rule, 'paradises' are not a part of our world (*lokadhātu*), as is the *Tuṣita*, but special realms, ruled by excellent Buddhas who have at last realized their 'vow' of creating worlds free from suffering. Their number is, of course, infinite (see art. COSMOGONY [Buddhist]),† but in the 'compound of cosmos' which we inhabit (*sahālokadhātu*) the most celebrated are: (1) the paradise of the East, under the rule of the Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru (the 'Master of remedies,' the 'Healing Teacher');‡ and especially (2) the 'Happy [universe], *Sukhāvati* [*lokadhātu*], of the West, where, from every quarter of the worlds, blissful creatures are born from lotuses before the Buddha Amitābha and the Bodhisattvas Mahāsthāmaprāpta and Avalokiteśvara (see art. AVALOKITEŚVARA). To be accurate, the 'Happy universe' is not an everlasting paradise. The Blessed who there enjoy the privilege of seeing the radiant body of the Buddha, and of hearing his preaching, are candidates for Buddhahood; Amitābha's heaven is a blissful purgatory and a school, not only a place of retribution. But, from a practical and historical point of view, the *Sukhāvati*, as said before, is the exact counterpart of the Vaiṣṇavite paradise.§

We have few Indian documents dealing with the devotional practices arising from such a conception of everlasting life in Amitābha's presence. But Chinese and Japanese sources, ancient and modern,

Bodhisattvas of Amitābha's paradise. In all these peaceful abodes the Blessed enjoy the vision and the actual presence of their god, and the successive degrees or savours (*rāsa*) of devotion, friendship, filial affection, ecstatic susceptibility (Barth, *op. cit.* p. 225). It is not difficult to be re-born there (see Barth, p. 228, and cf. art. AVALOKITEŚVARA and MAHAYANA).

* Mention of Maitreya as the next Buddha, the Buddha to come, who will make many converts, whereas Śākyamuni had only a small retinue, occurs in the Pāli Canon of Scriptures (see Oldenberg's *Buddha*, 5th Germ. ed., p. 164)—a fact hitherto ignored. It is quite natural that Buddhists, i.e. 'orthodox Buddhists,' aspire to be born in his kingdom, before having the good fortune to hear his forthcoming announcement of the Law (5000 Anno Buddha). Both forms of Maitreya's worship are frequent in Chinese sources (Pilgrims; the later is canonized in ecclesiastical professions: 'to hear the preaching under the Dragon-Flower-Tree,' Chavannes, *J.A.*, 1908, I. 505), and, together with iconographic evidences (images of Maitreya; see Grünwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art*), show that special regard was paid to the *Tuṣita* heaven. See Julien, *Vie et voyages de Hiouen-Tsang*, p. 345 (wanting in Beal's *Records*, but see his *Buddhism in China*, p. 112, London, S.P.O.K. 1894); I-Tsing, *Religieux éminents*, tr. Chavannes, p. 72, Paris, 1894; Foucher, *Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, I. 235 (*tuṣitakāya* = *varabharana* = 'the best abode'), Paris, 1906.

† Every future Buddha aims at possessing (i.e. creating by his exertion) a Happy Universe, 'free from bad destinies,' i.e. inhabited by saints, gods, and men; see *Aṣṭasāhasikā*, p. 282 (*apāyapariśuddhi*).

‡ See Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 235 (London, 1890).

§ The earliest documents are the *Sukhāvatīyūṣa*, the *Sūtra of Amitāyus* (*SBE*, vol. xlix.), and the *Saddharmapūṇḍarikā* (see art. AVALOKITEŚVARA, p. 268^b note * and note †; also Beal, *Catena*, p. 378). Nāgārjuna (Nanjio, 1180, and Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II. p. 206) and Aśvaghosa (Suzuki, *Awakening of Faith*, Chicago, 1900, p. 146) teach re-birth in *Sukhāvati*. There is no reference to this paradise in the books of the Little Vehicle: the mention in *Mahāvastu*, III. 462, 10, is from the colophon; see Rhys Davids, *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, p. 423. A Japanese picture is found in Grünwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art*, p. 176; see p. 195, I. 4, and Grünwedel, *Mythologie der Buddhismus* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 118. *Sukhāvati* (also *Sukhākara* [*Lotus*, *SBE*, vol. xli. ch. xxiv. 30]) has been compared with the Western paradises of the Brahmanic literature (*Sukhā*, *Nimlōcāni*), by Max Müller (*SBE*, vol. xlix. p. xxii), and with the *Insula Fortunata* and the Gardens of the Hesperides, by Kern (*Lotus*, *loc. cit.*).

have much to say about Amitābha's sects, monks and laymen; the pious death of the adepts, led to the West by angels or Bodhisattvas; the prayers for the dead, etc.*

LITERATURE.—The literature is contained in the article.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Celtic).—The Celtic doctrine of the future life is discussed elsewhere (see CELTS, § xvi.). This article deals with the Celtic belief in a happy Other-world, or Elysium, which, as will be seen, was not necessarily the abode of the dead.

1. Names of the Celtic Elysium.—These names are sometimes of a general character, sometimes they particularize the situation of this happy land. Of the former are Mag Mor, 'the Great Plain'; Mag Mell, 'the Pleasant Plain'; Tír n' Aill, 'the Other World'; Tír na nÓg, 'the Land of Youth'; Tír Sorchá, 'the Shining Land'; Tír na mBeo, 'the Land of the Living'; Tír Tairngiri, 'the Land of Promise' (perhaps a Christian derivative). Of the latter are Tír fa Tonn, 'Land under Waves,' I-Bresail, 'the Land of Bresal,' and 'the Isle of the Men of Falga,' which denote Elysium as an isle beyond the sea. Falga is an old name for the Isle of Man ('Rennes Dindsenchas,' *RCel* xv. 449), which was connected with the god Manannan, who appears as lord of the over-sea Elysium. If the Goidels occupied Britain before passing to Ireland, they may have regarded Man as 'par excellence' the Western Isle, the home of the Lord of the Other-world' (Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895, i. 213). To this period may belong the tales of Cúchulainn's raid upon Falga (considered as the Other-world), which were afterwards carried to Ireland (see § 6f.).

2. Various aspects of the Irish Celtic Elysium.—Some of these titles show that Elysium was regarded from different points of view; it was beyond the seas, or it was under the waves. But an examination of the tales which refer to it shows that there were at least two other aspects: it might be located in the *sid* or the hollow hills, or it might be a mysterious land revealing itself suddenly on the earth's surface and entered through a mist. Reserving a consideration of these different localities till later, we shall here summarize the more important tales in which the Other-world appears. These tales mainly describe the visit of mortals to that land. Some of them belong to the Mythological, some to the Cúchulainn, some to the Ossianic cycle. The MSS in which they are found are frequently among the earliest known to Irish paleography, but there is no doubt that many of the tales are of a greater antiquity, and that all of them, if not actually composed in pagan times, are based upon pagan ideas, upon story-germs current before the rise of Christianity.

(a) The *Island Elysium* conception is found in several tales, and is also current in existing folklore. The story of the 'Voyage of Bran' (found fragmentarily in the 11th cent. *Book of the Dun Cow* [= *LU*], and complete in 14th-16th cent. MSS [Meyer and Nutt, *Voy. of Bran*]) tells how Bran hears mysterious music and falls asleep. On waking he finds a silver branch with white blossoms. Next day, as he is sitting with his men, a mysterious woman appears singing the glory of the land over seas, its beauty, its freedom from pain and death, its music, its wonderful tree. It is one of thrice fifty islands to the west of Erin, and there she dwells with thousands of 'motley women.' Before she disappears, the branch leaps into her hand. The poem then describes Bran's sailing with his comrades, his meeting with Man-

annan mac Lir, crossing the sea in a chariot, his arrival at the Island of Joy where one of his men remained, his coming to the Land of Women, the welcome they received, the dreamlike lapse of time, the food and drink which had for each the taste he desired. Finally, it recounts their homesickness, the warning from the queen not to set foot on Erin, how one of them leapt ashore there and became a heap of ashes, how Bran from his boat told of his wanderings, and then disappeared for ever (the tale of 'Oisín in Tír na nÓg' [see *FRINN CYCLE*, § 5] has several points of resemblance to 'Bran,' especially in the fate which overtook Oisín when he set foot on Erin).

In the Cúchulainn cycle the story of 'Cúchulainn's Sickness' (found in *LU*) relates the temporary union of the hero with the goddess Fand, deserted by her consort Manannan. She will become his mistress if he will help her sister's husband Labraid against his enemies in Mag Mell. Cúchulainn's charioteer Laeg visits the place, and it is from his report that we learn the nature of the Other-world, where Labraid lives in an island frequented by troops of women, its different trees with marvellously nourishing fruits, its inexhaustible vat of mead. It is reached with magic speed in a boat of bronze. Thither goes Cúchulainn, vanquishes Labraid's enemies, and remains a month with Fand. Then he returns without hurt to Ireland, where he has arranged a meeting with Fand. At that meeting his wife Emer is present, and mortal and goddess strive to retain his love. The difficulty is solved by the sudden appearance of Manannan, for whom Fand's love returns (*LU* 43 ff.; Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1880, i. 205 ff.; Leahy, *Heroic Romances*, London, 1906, i.; D'Arbois, *Cours de Litt. Celt.*, Paris, 1892, v. 170 ff.). Here Labraid, Liban, and Fand, though dwellers in an island Elysium, are called *sid*-folk, i.e. they are of the *sid*, or Underworld. The two regions are partially confused, but not wholly, since Manannan is described as coming from his own land (i.e. the true island Elysium) to woo Fand. Apparently Labraid (who, though called chief of the *side*, is described in terms which leave little doubt that he is a war-god) is at enmity with Manannan's hosts, who suffer defeat at Cúchulainn's hands.

In the Ossianic cycle, besides the story of Oisín (see above), there is a description of the Land of Promise over sea, where Diarmaid had been nurtured by Manannan himself, in the story of the 'Gilla Dacker' (see Joyce, *Old Celt. Romances*, London, 1894, 222).

Of greater importance is the tale called 'Echtra Connla' (*LU* 120; Windisch, *Irische Gram.*, Leipzig, 1879, 120; D'Arbois, v. 384). Connla, son of Conn, king of Ireland (A.D. 122-157), is visited by a goddess from the immortal land of Mag Mell. Her people dwell in a *sid*, or mound, and are called *Aes síde*, 'men of the mound.' Thither she invites him to come, and departs leaving him an apple which supports him for a month without growing less. In a month she returns and tells Connla, who has been filled with desire of her, that the Immortals invite him to join them. She bids him step into her crystal boat and come with her to the Land of Joy where dwell only women. He does so, and in a moment disappears for ever from the sight of his father and his druid who has vainly tried to exercise his spells against the woman. Here again, we note a confusion between the Underground and the Over-sea Elysium.

(b) *Tír fa Tonn*, 'Land under Waves,' occurs with greatest distinctness in the tale of Laegaire mac Crimthainn (*Book of Lismore*, 15th cent., O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, 290). Fiachra of the

* See J. J. M. de Groot, *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China* (Amsterdam, 1904). The *Kāraṇḍavyūha* has some fine theories on the death of the pious (see art. ADIBUDDHA).

men of the *sid* appears among the men of Connaught assembled at Loch Naneane, and implores their help against his enemies, whose chief Goll has abducted his wife. Laegaire and 50 men dive into the Loch with him, and reach a wonderful land, with marvellous music, and where the rain is ale. They and the *sid*-folk attack the fort of Mag Mell, and defeat Goll. As reward they each obtain a woman of the *side*, and remain in the land for a year. Then they yearn to return, but are warned not to descend from horseback on Erin. Arrived among their own people, they describe the wonders of Tír fa Tonn, and in spite of being implored to remain, they return thither, and are seen no more. Here, too, the Underworld and Tír fa Tonn are scarcely distinguished, and its divine hosts, as in the tale of Cúchulainn, are at war (see for another account of Tír fa Tonn, entered from a well on an island over-sea, the 'Gilla Dacker' in Joyce, 253).

(c) *The sid world* pure and simple is described in the Story of Mider and Etain, found in the 11th cent. MS *LU*. Mider, having discovered his divine consort Etain in her re-birth as a mortal, married to king Eochaid, appears to her and tries to regain her by describing Mag Mór, the great plain, the immortal land, its music, its beauty, its heady ale, its deathless folk, its eternal youth. Ultimately Etain, who has no recollection of this land, flies away with Mider, both in the form of birds. Eochaid's druid finally discovers Mider's underground *sid*. Eochaid captures it, and takes away his wife (*LU* 129; *Ir. Texte*, i. 113 ff.). This tale amply illustrates the belief that the gods, the Tuatha Dé Danann, were living in underground *sid*, in which they finally became the fairies of popular lore, to whose mounds, exactly like Mider's *sid*, mortals often paid visits. These *sid* were simply Elysium localized in definite places on Irish soil.

(d) 'The Adventures of Cormac mac Airt' (found in 14th and 15th cent. MSS, but probably connected with a tale of the same title mentioned in the old epic list) well describes the fourth conception of the Other-world. A divine visitant, with a branch bearing nine apples of gold which, when shaken, made sweetest music, appeared to Cormac. He at once asked for this branch whose music dispelled all sorrow, but for it he had to give up wife, son, and daughter. In a year he desired to see them, and set out to seek them. As he journeyed he found himself enveloped in a mist, through which he came to a house where a strange pair offered him hospitality. These proved to be Manannan and his consort. The god then brought in a pig, each quarter of which was cooked in the telling of a true tale. While the third quarter was cooking, Cormac told of the loss of his wife and children; whereupon Manannan, after sending Cormac to sleep, opened a door and they appeared. Finally he produced a cup which broke in pieces when a lie was told, but became whole again when a true word was spoken. To prove this, Manannan said that Cormac's wife had now a new husband. The cup fell in pieces. Then the goddess declared that Manannan had lied, and it was restored. Next morning all had disappeared, and Cormac and his family found themselves in his own palace with cup and branch by his side (*D'Arbois*, ii. 326; *Windisch*, *Ir. Texte*, iii. 1, 183). Cf. also 'Baile an Scail' (*O'Curry*, *MS Mat.*, Dublin, 1861, p. 388), where out of a mist a mysterious horseman appears to Conn and leads him to a palace in a plain where he reveals himself as the god Lug, and where appears also a woman called 'the Sovereignty of Erin.' Beside the palace is a golden tree. This magic mist, from which appears a supernatural being or which encloses a supernatural dwelling, recurs in many other tales, and it was in a mist

that the Tuatha Dé Danann first appeared in Ireland.

3. Various aspects of the Brythonic Elysium.—A certain correspondence to these Goidelic beliefs is found in Brythonic story, but here the Elysium conception has been considerably influenced by later Christian ideas. The name given to Elysium is *Annwfn*, which means 'an abyss,' 'the state of the dead,' 'hell,' etc. (*Silvan Evans*, *Welsh Dict.* s.v.). But in the texts relating to Elysium, *Annwfn* does not bear any likeness to these meanings of the word, save in so far as it has been confused by redactors of the tales with the Christian hell, *uffern*. In these tales it appears as a region on the earth's surface or an over- or under-sea world, in which several of the characteristics of the Irish Elysium are found—a cauldron, a well of drink sweeter than wine, animals greatly desired by mortals, which they steal (see § 7), while it is of great beauty, and its people are not subject to death or disease. Hence the name *Annwfn* has probably taken the place of some earlier pagan name of Elysium.

(a) *Annwfn* in the tale of Pwyll, which forms the earliest reference to it in Welsh literature (*Loth*, *Mabinog.*, Paris, 1889, i. 27), is ruled by a king, Arawn, who is at war with his rival Hafgan, and obtains the assistance of Pwyll, who defeats Hafgan, by exchanging kingdoms with him for a year. It is a delightful land, where merriment and feasting on the choicest food and drink go on continually, and it has no subterranean character, but appears to be conceived of as a province adjoining Pwyll's kingdom.

(b) *Annwfn* is also the name of a Land under Waves or Over Sea, called also *Caer Sidi* ('the revolving castle,' cf. the *Ille Tournioint* of the Graal romances, and the revolving house in Celtic saga and *Märchen*), about which are 'ocean's streams,' and which is reached by a long voyage. It is 'known to Manawydan (Manannan) and Pryderi,' just as the Irish Elysium was ruled by Manannan (*Skene*, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, Edin. 1868, i. 276). Another 'Caer of Defence' is beneath 'the ocean's wave' (*Skene*, i. 285). Hence the two ideas were probably interchangeable. The people of this land are free from death and sickness, and in it is 'an abundant well, sweeter than white wine the drink in it' (*Skene*, i. 276). There also is a cauldron, 'the cauldron of the chief of *Annwfn*,' that is, of the lord of Elysium, like that of the Dagda, which is stolen away by Arthur and his men. A similar cauldron is the property of the people of a water-world in the *Mabinogion* (see § 6 f.).

(c) Finally, the description of the mysterious island of Avallion, even though this was later identified with Glastonbury, whither Arthur was carried to be healed of his wounds, completes the identification with the Goidelic Elysium. No tempest, no excess of heat or cold, no noxious animal troubles it; it is blessed with eternal spring, and with fruit and flowers which require no husbandman's labour; it is the land of eternal youth unvisited by death or disease. It possesses a *regia virgo*, more beautiful than her beautiful maiden attendants; she cured Arthur of his wounds, hence she may be identified with the Morgen of other tales, while she and her maidens resemble the divine women of the Irish isle of women (*Chrétien*, *Erec*, 1933-1939; *Geoffrey*, *Vita Merlini*, 41; *San Marte*, *Geoffrey*, 425).

The identification of Avallion with Glastonbury is probably post-pagan (*Loth*, ii. 215, 264, 360), while the names applied to Glastonbury—Avallion, *Insula Pomonum*, *Insula vitrea*—may be primitive names of the island Elysium. William of Malmesbury (*de Ant. Glaston. Eccl.*) says that *Insula Pomonum* is a translation of a native name, *Insula Avalloniae*, which he connects with the Brythonic *avalla*, 'apples,' because Glastenig

found an apple tree there. The name might therefore have been connected with marvellous apple trees, similar to those of the Irish Elysium. But he also suggests that it may have been derived from a certain Avalloc, who lived there with his daughters. This Avalloc is evidently the same as the Rex Avalon (Avalleach) to whose palace Arthur was brought and healed by the *regia virgo* (San Marte, 425). He may therefore have been a mythical lord of the Other-world, and his daughters would correspond to the maidens of the isle (see Rhys, *Art. Legend*, 335). He also derives Glastonbury from an eponymous founder Glastenig, or from its native name Ynesuilitron ('Glass-land'). This name re-appears in the passage cited from Chrétien, in the form, 'l'isle de voirre.' Giraldus (*Spec. Eccles.* ii. 9) explains the name from the glassy waters which surrounded Glastonbury, but we may see in it an early name of Elysium (cf. Merlin's glass house, *Triads*, iii. 10; the glass fortress attacked by Arthur, *Merlin*, 690, and by the Milesians, *Nennius*, § 13; the glass bower of Etain (*Cyfra*, § 3), and the glass mountains of Teutonicmythology and folk-tale).

4. Origin of the Celtic Elysium conception.—Most mythologies tell of a Golden Age in the remote past, when men were happy and when the gods lived with them (see AGES OF THE WORLD, FALL). Man's imaginative faculties as well as his acute sense of the misery of his earthly existence may have led him to believe that this happy state still existed somewhere in distant space as did the Golden Age in distant time. Wherever it was, it held endless joys; it was in a special sense the land of the gods or of some gods; thither some favoured mortals might penetrate. This was the germ of the Elysium conception as we find it in many mythologies as well as the Celtic; but with the Celtic people, poetic, imaginative, sensuous, yet spiritual, it took forms of great beauty. In some mythologies this Elysium is simply the world of the dead; but it is extremely doubtful whether it is so in Celtic mythology. Perhaps the Celtic myth of man's early intercourse with the gods may have taken a twofold development. In the one instance the land to which he hoped to go after death was that lost land, conceived as a subterranean region. In the other it was no more recoverable; men would not go there after death; but favoured mortals might be invited thither during life. It was thus clearly distinguished from the land of the dead, however joyful that might be. But this question requires separate consideration (see § 5). In Ireland it was held that after the conquest of the Tuatha Dé Danann, the gods, by the Milesians, they had retired within the hills or mounds (*sid*). But it agrees with the more primitive aspects of Celtic religion, as an agricultural cult, to suppose that some at least of the divinities, the fruitful Earth-divinities, had their abode beneath the earth, which, as the home of the gods, would be conceived in the loftiest terms. Thence man had perhaps originally come, and thither he would return after death. To this extent, therefore, the Underworld of the Earth-divinities was also the place of the dead. The later association of the gods with hollow hills and mounds was but a continuation of the belief in this divine Underworld, only it seems obvious from the tales that these hollow hills, or *sid*, had become simply an Elysium state, not a state of the dead. These were, on the whole, still conceived as going to some region under the earth. There are no data to show when the conception of a distant Elysium arose among the Celts. It may have been first suggested to them, while still on the Continent, by the setting sun: far off there was also a divine land where the sun-god sank to a blissful rest. On reaching the coast it was inevitable that they should imagine this divine land to be over seas, in some happy island such as they saw on the horizon. That island might be still associated with the sun-god, but it was more naturally connected with the god of the sea. Hence the position of Manannan in these Elysium tales. The under-world Elysium and the over-sea Elysium were conceived in identical terms, and the

same set of names applied indifferently to either. Perhaps the locating of Elysium in the *sid* may simply be due to the tendency to give a local habitation and a name to every mysterious region as time goes on. To this identity also may be assigned the mingling of the *sid*-folk with the over-sea Elysium in certain tales already noted.

The idea of a world beneath the waters is common to many mythologies, and, generally speaking, it owes its origin to the animistic belief that every part of nature has its indwelling spirits. Hence the spirits or gods of the waters were thought of as dwelling far below the surface under a divine king or chief. Tales of supernatural beings appearing out of the waters, the custom of throwing sacrifices therein, the belief that human beings were inveigled into the waters or could live with these beings beneath the waves, all are connected with this primitive animistic idea. Among the Celts, however, that water-world assumed the aspects of Elysium; it was a divine land like the over-sea Elysium. Hence in later story it became a fairy world. It is visited by mortals, who find there precisely the same sensuous joys as in the island paradise; it also has names in common with it. Tír fa Tonn is also Mag Mell. Hence in many popular tales it is hardly differentiated from the island Elysium; over-sea and under-waves have become practically synonymous. Hence, too, the belief that such water-worlds as the Irish I Bresail, or the Welsh fairy-lands, or sunken cities off the Breton coast, rise periodically to the surface and would remain there permanently, like an island Elysium, if some mortal could fulfil certain conditions (Girald. Camb. ii. 12; Hardiman, *Irish Min.*, London, 1831, i. 367; Rhys, *Celt. Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, i. 170; Sébillot, *Folk-lore de France*, Paris, 1904, ii. 56 ff.).

The Celtic belief in Tír fa Tonn is closely connected with the current belief in submerged towns or countries, which is perhaps found with greatest detail on the Breton coast. Here there are legends of several such towns, but most prominent are those which tell of the city of Is, which was submerged with all its people and still exists beneath the sea, where (or occasionally on the surface of the waves) it may still be seen. It was submerged as a punishment, because of the wickedness of its people or of Dahut, its king's daughter, who sometimes still seeks the love of mortals (Sébillot, ii. 41 ff.). Elsewhere in Celtic regions precisely similar legends are found, and the submersion is the result of a curse, or of the breaking of a tabu, or of neglect to cover a sacred well. The best example is that of the town covered by the waters of Lough Neagh (see Girald. Camb. *Top. Hib.* ii. 9; Rhys, *Celt. Folklore*; Kennedy, *Legend. Fictions*, London, 1866, 282). There is little doubt that one important fact lies behind these various legends, viz. the tradition of actual cataclysms or inroads of the sea, such as the Celts encountered on the coast of Holland. Once formed, it was inevitable that these legends should intermingle with those of the divine water-world.

The idea that the Other-world is on the same plane as this world, or temporarily locates itself there, and is hidden in a mist, is probably due to the belief in the magic power of the gods. One of the commonest pieces of druidic magic was the causing of a mist to effect concealment, and it was natural to believe that the gods could do the same. Behind that mist, for some definite purpose, the divine Elysium was temporarily located, with all its marvellous properties, as in the story of Cormac (and also in folk-tales where fairyland is thus revealed to mortals; see *RCel* vii. 289; Kennedy, 108, 179), or from such a mist supernatural beings frequently emerged to meet mortals. In such

cases the mist may simply have concealed the *síd* of the gods, from which the messenger emerged, or to which the mortal, misled by the mist, was introduced. Such appearances from a mist often occurred on a hill (Loth, *Mab.* i. 38; Campbell, *West Highland Tales*, Edin. 1890, Nos. 38, 52; *Scott. Celt. Rev.*, Paisley, 1885, i. 70). On the other hand, there may have been an existing belief that the divine world was invisibly co-extensive with this world, since in recent Welsh and Irish belief fairyland is on the same plane as this earth and interpenetrates it; men may interfere unwittingly with it, or have it suddenly revealed to them, or be carried into it and made invisible (Rhys, i. 230; Curtin, *Tales of the Fairies*, 158).

5. Was the Celtic Elysium the land of the dead?—In most of the tales Elysium is a land where there is neither grief nor death, a land of immortal youth and peace, filled with every kind of sensuous delight. In a few tales, however (the *Mabinogi* of Pwyll, Sick-bed of Cúchulainn, Laegaire mac Crimthainn, Doel Diarmaid, Diarmaid in Tír fa Tonn), while the sensuous delights are still the same, the inhabitants are at war with each other, invite the help of mortals, and are sometimes slain in battle. But in both these groups Elysium is the land of the gods, of supernatural beings, a land to which a few favoured mortals are admitted while still in life. It is never described as the world of the dead, nor do its people ever appear to be the dead. These two conceptions of Elysium, (1) a land of peace and deathlessness, (2) a land where war and death occur, may be both equally primitive. The second may simply have been formed by transferring to the divine world the actions of the world of mortals, as a direct result of anthropomorphism. It would also be on a parallel with the conception of the world of the dead, which was likewise a replica of the life of mortals in this world. But men may early have felt that the gods were not as themselves, that their land was a state of peace and immortality. Hence the creation of the legend of the peaceful Elysium. The two conceptions may have existed side by side, but apparently the more peaceful one found most favour with the people. Mr. Nutt (*Bran*, i. 159) thinks that the other conception may be due to Scandinavian influence acting on existing tales of the peaceful, deathless Elysium; but from the fact that the wars of divine beings occupy a prominent part in the mythological and Ossianic cycles of the Irish Celts, this is doubtful. Or again, the peaceful Elysium may have been the product of the Celts as an agricultural people, since it is 'a familiar, cultivated land,' where the fruits of the earth are produced without men's labour, where there are no violent storms or excess of heat or cold—precisely the fancies which would appeal to a toiling, agricultural people, while the more warlike Elysium may have been produced among the Celts as a warlike people, appealing to their warrior instincts. What is certain is that the inhabitants of Elysium are supernatural beings; chief among them are the well-known figures of Celtic mythology, but the others have every trace of divinity. D'Arbois, Rhys, and others, however, maintain that the Celtic Elysium is the world of the dead. Elsewhere will be found reasons for the belief that the *orbis alius* (Lucan, *Phar.* i. 457), whither the dead went, was not necessarily an island, but a subterranean region. Or, if it was an island, it was not the island Elysium (see CELTS, § xvi.).

D'Arbois' theory of Elysium as the state of the dead rests mainly upon a difficult passage in *Echtra Conla*, which is interpreted by him in a way which seems somewhat wide of its true meaning. The sense of the passage seems to be: 'The Ever Living Ones claim thee. Thou art a champion to Tethra's people. They see thee every day in the assemblies of thy fatherland, among thy familiar loved ones.' D'Arbois assumes that Tethra, the Fomorian king, is ruler of Elysium, and that

after his defeat by the Tuatha Déa, he, like Cronus, took refuge in Elysium, where he now reigns as god of the dead; while by translating *ar-dot-chiat* ('they see thee,' 3rd plur. pres. ind.) 'On t'y verra,' he maintains that Conla, by going to Elysium, will be seen among the gatherings of his dead kinsfolk (D'Arbois, *Cours de Litt. Celt.* ii. 119, 192, vi. 197, 219, *Les Druides*, Paris, 1906, 121; *RCel* xxvi. 173). But it is impossible to take 'Thou art a champion to Tethra's people' as meaning that Tethra is a god of the dead. It appears to mean simply that Conla is a mighty warrior, one of those whom Tethra, a Fomorian war-god (*LU* 50a; Cormac, *Gloss.* s.v. 'Tethra'), would have approved, while 'Tethra's mighty men' used elsewhere ('Dialogue of the Sages,' *RCel* xxvi. 27 ff.) seems to be a conventional phrase for warriors. The rest of the goddess's words imply either that the immortals from afar, or Tethra's mighty men, see Conla in the assemblies of his fatherland in Erin, among his familiar friends. Dread death awaits them, she has just said, but the immortals desire Conla to escape that by coming to Elysium. Her words do not imply that Conla will meet his dead ancestors there; moreover, if the dead went to Elysium, there would be little reason for inviting a mortal there while still alive. Thus this tale, like all other Elysium tales, gives no ground for the contention that Elysium is the place of the dead. Moreover, the rulers of Elysium are the Tuatha Déa or the *síd*-folk, never a Fomorian like Tethra. ('Tethra' is glossed as *muir*, 'sea,' by O'Cleary (Stokes' *Cormac*, s.v. 'Tethra'), and Cúchulainn speaks of the sea as 'the plain of Tethra' [*Arch. Rev.* i. 152], but we cannot infer from these that he was ruler of an over-sea Elysium, and the passages are probably derived from the association of the Fomorians with hostile sea-powers (see under *Celts*, § v.).

D'Arbois' assumption that 'Spain' in Nennius' account of the invasions of Ireland (*Hist. Brit.* § 13), and in the Irish texts generally, means the land of the dead, and that it was introduced in place of some such title as *Mag Mór* or *Mag Mell* by 'the euhemerizing process of the Irish Christians' (ii. 85, 134, 231) is equally groundless. In other documents which have been subject to euhemerization these titles remain unchanged; nor is there any proof that a document, now lost according to D'Arbois, said that the invader came from or returned to *Mag Mór*. Once, indeed, Taltiu is called daughter of *Mag Mór*, king of Spain (*Book of Leinster* [= *LL*] 8. 2); but here a person is intended. It is much more probable that there was a connexion between Ireland and Spain from early times, both racial and commercial (Reinach, *RCel* xxi. 18; Siret, *Les Premières Ages du Métal dans le Sud-Est de l'Espagne*, Antwerp, 1887), while perhaps some of the Goidelic invaders reached Ireland from Spain or Gaul. This connexion, traditionally remembered, would be sufficient to account for these references to Spain. It was further supported by the fact that early maps and geographers made Ireland and Spain contiguous (Orosius, i. 2. 71); hence in an Irish tale Ireland is visible from a tower in Spain (*LL* 11. 2). The word 'Spain' was used vaguely, but it does not appear to have meant Elysium or the land of the dead.

6. Characteristics of the Celtic Elysium.—(a) Nothing can exceed the romantic beauty of this land as described in the tales, and in nearly every one this is insisted on by the messengers who come from it to mortals. The beauty of its landscapes,—hills, cliffs, valleys, sea and shore, lakes and rivers,—of its trees, of its inhabitants, of its birds, is obviously the product of the imagination of a people keenly alive to natural beauty. And borrowed from the delight which the Celt took in music is the recurring reference to the marvellous music which everywhere swells in Elysium. It sounds from birds on every tree, from the branches of the trees which lull to forgetfulness the favoured mortals invited thither, from marvellous stones, from the harps of divine musicians. In Elysium, as the visitant says to Bran, 'there is nothing rough or harsh, but sweet music striking on the ear.' Probably no other race than the Celtic has, in describing the joys of the other world, so spiritualized the sensuous joys of sight and hearing, or imagined anything so exquisitely beautiful.

(b) Certain of the tales which deal with an island Elysium make it evident that it was composed not of one but of several islands, 'thrice fifty' in number, according to the *Voyage of Bran*, though this may be a later conception. One of these is frequently described as 'the island of women' or 'of ever-living women,' though in some instances there appear to be other inhabitants also. These women give their favours to Bran and his men, or to Maelduin and his company ('*Voyage of Maelduin*, *RCel* x. 63), and in both these cases the number of women exactly equals that of the mortal visitors. Similar 'islands of women' occur in *Märchen* still

current among Celtic peoples, and actual islands were or are still called by that name—Eigg in the W. Highlands (Martin, *West Isles*, London, 1716, 277), Groages off the Breton coast (Sébillot, ii. 76). Similar islands of women are known to Chinese, Japanese, and Ainu folklore (Burton, *Thousand Nights*, Benares, 1885 ff., x. 239; Chamberlain, *Aino Folk Tales*, London, 1888, 38), to Greek mythology (Circe's and Calypso's islands, cf. the land of the Amazons), and to ancient Egyptian conceptions of the future life (Maspero, *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient*, Paris, 1895, i. 183). They were also known elsewhere, and we may therefore assume that in making such an island a part of their Elysium, the Celts were simply making use of something common to universal folk-belief. It may, however, owe something to the memory of a time when women performed their rites in seclusion, a seclusion which is perhaps hinted at in the references to the mysterious nature of the island, its inaccessibility, and its disappearance once the mortals leave it; to these rites men may have been admitted by favour. We know that Celtic women performed such rites on islands (Strabo, iv. iv. 6; cf. Ploss, *Das Weib*, Leipzig, 1885, ii. 70, artt. BIRTH [Celtic]), and CELTS, xiii. 1).

This may have originated the idea of an island of divine women as part of the Elysium belief, while it would also heighten the sensuous aspects of that Elysium. Love-making, in effect, had a considerable place in the Elysium tales. Its divine inhabitants sought the love of mortals, goddesses of men, gods of women (cf. the tales of Bran, Connla, Oisín, etc., of Manannan seeking the love of Tuag [*RCel* xvi. 152]; Mider, that of Etain). The mortal desired to visit Elysium because of the enticements of the divine visitant, regarded by later Christian redactors of the tales as a demon (see 'Cúchulainn's Sick-bed,' D'Arbois, v. 216). On the other hand, the love-making which goes on among the people of Elysium, even in documents edited by Christian scribes, is said to be 'without sin, without crime' (*Bran*, § 41).

(c) Besides their beauty, the characteristic of the inhabitants of Elysium which is emphasized in most of the tales is that they are immortal, or ever-living. Elysium is *Tír na mBéa*, 'the land of the living'; its people 'look for neither decay nor death'; they are eternally youthful. The general belief among primitive races is that death is an accident befalling men who were naturally immortal; hence freedom from that accident naturally characterizes the people of the divine world. But, as in many mythologies that immortality is more or less dependent on the eating or drinking of some food or drink of immortality, so it is in certain Celtic tales. Manannan, in the tale of Cormac, had immortal swine, which, killed one day, came to life the next; and with the flesh of these he is said to have conferred immortality on the Tuatha Dé Danann. This was also conferred by the drinking of Goibnúi's ale, which either by itself or with the flesh of swine formed his immortal feast (O'Grady, *Silva Gadel.* ii. 385; O'Curry, *Atlantis*, iii. 389). Besides conferring immortality, the food of the Other-world was inexhaustible, and whoever ate it found it to have precisely that taste which he preferred. The fruit of certain trees of Elysium was also believed to confer immortality and other qualities. Cúchulainn's servant, Laeg, tells of 150 trees which he saw growing in Mag Mell; their nuts fed 300 people (D'Arbois, v. 170 ff.). The apple given by the goddess to Connla was inexhaustible, and he was still eating it with her when another favoured mortal visited Elysium—Teigue, son of Cian. 'When once they had partaken of it, nor age nor dimness could affect them' (D'Arbois, v. 384; O'Grady, ii. 385). Apples, crimson nuts, and

rowan berries are specifically said to be the food of the gods in the 'Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne' (Joyce, 314). Through carelessness one of the berries was dropped on earth, and from it grew a tree, three of whose berries eaten by a man of a hundred years made him a young man. To keep mortals from touching it they set a Fomorian giant to guard it. With this may be compared the dragon-guarded rowan tree in the tale of Fraoch (Leahy, *Heroic Romances*, i. 36, with many variants elsewhere); its berries had the virtue of nine meals, added a year to a man's life, and healed the sick. At the source of all Irish rivers were supposed to grow hazel trees with crimson nuts, which fell into the water and were eaten by salmon. If these salmon were caught and eaten, the eater would obtain knowledge and wisdom (O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, ii. 143). But the stories in which these hazels are mentioned show that they grew in Elysium, and their berries were the food of the gods, which a mortal might not eat without incurring danger (*RCel* xv. 457; Windisch, *Irische Texte*, iii. 213). In other cases the trees of Elysium are much more marvellous; they have silver branches (*Bran*); they have golden apples (*Cormac*); they produce wonderful music, which sometimes causes sleep and oblivion.

(d) As these various nuts and fruits were prized in Ireland as food, and in some cases, perhaps, were used to produce an intoxicant, it is obvious that they were, primarily, a magnified form of earthly trees. But all such trees were doubtless objects of a cult before their produce was generally eaten; they may have been totem trees, and their fruit eaten only occasionally and sacramentally. If so, this would explain why they grew in the Other-world, and why their fruit was the food of the gods. Whatever man eats or drinks is generally supposed to have been first used by the gods, like the Hindu *soma*. Miss Hull points out that, in some tales, the branch of a divine tree becomes a talisman leading the mortal to Elysium; in this resembling the golden bough plucked by *Aeneas* before descending to the under world (*FL* xii. 931). But this is not the primary function of the tree. On the other hand, Mr. A. B. Cook is of opinion that the branch is derived from the branch borne by early Celtic kings of the wood or representatives of the Sun-god, while the tree is an imaginative form of the trees which incarnated a vegetation spirit (*FL* xvii. 158). But, again, it is the fruit of the trees as the food of the gods on which the greatest stress is laid in all the tales. When mortals eat it, it has the effect of conferring immortality upon them; in other words, it makes them of like nature with the gods, and this is doubtless derived from the primitive idea that the eating of food given by a stranger produces kinship with him. Hence to eat the food of gods, of ghosts, of fairies, binds the mortal to them, and he cannot leave their land. When Connla ate the apple, he desired to go to the Other-world, and could not leave it once he was there: he had become akin to its people. In the stories of Bran and Oisín, they are not said to have eaten the divine food, but the primitive form of the tales may have contained this incident, and it would explain why they could not set foot on earth unscathed.

(e) The inhabitants of Elysium are also invisible at will—a true mark of their divinity. They make themselves visible to one person only out of many present with him. Thus Connla alone sees the goddess, his father and the druid with him do not see her; and, when Manannan comes to recall Fand, he is invisible to Cúchulainn and those with him. This agrees with what Mider says to Etain:

'We behold, and are not beheld' (Windisch, i. 133).

(f) In most of the tales of Elysium, and in other stories about the gods, a magical cauldron has a prominent place, as it also has in tales of semi-historical personages. Such a vessel was the inexhaustible cauldron of the god Dagda, which came from Murias, probably some over-sea world (*RCel* xii. 57), or the vat of inexhaustible mead described in 'Cúchulainn's Sick-bed.' Whatever was put into such vessels satisfied every one, no matter how numerous the company might be (O'Donovan, *Battle of Mag Rath*, Dublin, 1892, 50). Such a cauldron was stolen by Cúchulainn from Mider, lord of the isle of Falga (the over-sea Elysium), along with several cows (*LL* 169b); and in what is perhaps another version of this tale he obtains an inexhaustible cauldron from the daughter of the king of Scath (Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, 284). Similarly, in the Welsh poem called 'The Spoils of Annwn,' Arthur steals a cauldron from Annwn; its rim was encrusted with pearls, voices issued from it, it was kept boiling by the breath of nine maidens, it would not boil a coward's food (Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 265). In the Welsh story of Taliessin we learn how Tegid Voel and Cerridwen lived in the midst of lake Tegid (i.e. 'the Land under Waves'). Their son was so ugly that Cerridwen resolved to boil a cauldron of science and inspiration for him. For a year and a day it must boil till 'three drops of the grace of inspiration' were yielded by it. Gwion was set to stir it, and by accident obtained the inspiration himself (Guest's *Mabinogion*, London, 1838, iii. 321 f.). Finally, in the story of Branwen, daughter of Llyr, her brother Bran gave to the king of Ireland a cauldron into which if any slain man were thrown, he would be restored to life the next day. The cauldron had been given to Bran by two beings, a man and woman, who came out of a lake ('Land under Waves') (Loth's *Mabin.* i. 65). The three properties of the cauldron—inexhaustibility, inspiration, regeneration—may be summed up in one word, fertility; and it is significant that the god with whom such a cauldron is expressly associated, Dagda, should be a god of fertility (see, further, CELTS, § v.). But we have just seen it associated, directly or indirectly, with goddesses,—Cerridwen, Branwen, the woman of the lake,—and perhaps this may point to an earlier cult of fertility associated with goddesses, and later transferred to a god. The cauldron as a regenerator would be significantly connected with a goddess, since woman as the fruitful mother early suggested to man the idea of the fruitful Earth-mother, who was also frequently a goddess of love. Elton had already concluded that Branwen was a goddess of love (*Origins of English History*, London, 1882, p. 291). The cult of fertility was usually associated with orgiastic and indiscriminate love-making, and it is not impossible that the cauldron may have symbolized fertility, like the Hindu *yoni*. Again, the slaughter and cooking of animals were usually regarded as sacred acts in primitive life. The animals were cooked in enormous cauldrons, which were found as an invariable part of the furniture of every large Celtic house (Athen. iv. 34; Diod. Sic. v. 28; Joyce, *Soc. Hist.*, London, 1903, ii. 124). The quantities of meat which they contained may have suggested magical inexhaustibility to people to whom the cauldron was already a symbol of fertility. Thus the symbolic cauldron of a fertility cult was merged with the cauldron used in the religious slaughter and cooking of animal food. The cauldron was used in other ritual acts, sacrifice, divination, etc. (Strabo, vii. 2. 1, referring to the Cimri, but this may also have been a Celtic usage; *Brehon Laws*,

i. 195; Jullian, *Recherches sur la rel. gaul.*, Bordeaux, 1903, 44). Like the food of men which became the food of the gods, the cauldron of this world became the marvellous cauldron of the other world; and, as it then became necessary to explain the presence of such cauldrons on earth, myths arose, telling of how they had been stolen from the divine land by mortals. In other cases, however, its place is taken by an equally magic vessel or cup stolen from supernatural beings by the heroes of the Feinn saga or the heroes of *Märchen*. Here, too, it may be noted that the Graal of Arthurian romance has affinities with the Celtic cauldron. In the 'Conte du Graal' of pseudo-Chrétien, a cup comes in of itself and serves all present with food. This is a simple conception of the Graal; in other poems its sacrosanct character is heightened, until at last it became the chalice in which Christ instituted the Holy Sacrament. But in certain of its qualities it presents an unmistakable likeness to the Celtic cauldron—it supplies the food which the eater prefers, it gives perpetual youth. There is little doubt that the Graal is simply a fusion of the pagan Celtic cauldron and the chalice of our Lord's blood (see Villemarqué, *Contes populaires des anciens Bretons*, Paris, 1842; Nutt, *Legend of the Holy Grail*, London, 1888).

(g) Sensuous as are many of these characteristics, they yet have a spiritual aspect which must not be overlooked. Thus the emphasis placed on the beauty of the land, its music, its rest, its peace, its oblivion, is more spiritual than sensual, while the dwelling of favoured mortals there with divine beings is suggestive of that union with the divine which is of the essence of all religion. Though some who are lured there seek to leave it, others do not return, while Cúchulainn's charioteer Laeg says that he would prefer it to the kingship of all Ireland (Windisch, i. 219), and his words are elsewhere re-echoed by Laegaire mac Crimthainn. On the whole, then, it may be said that, of whatever elements it was composed, the conception of the Celtic Elysium was the imaginative shaping of man's instinctive longing for peace and rest. He hardly expected to obtain these beyond the grave, for there life went on as here, although that future state was one which had no terrors for him. A few great personages might reach Elysium after death, as an obscure passage in Plutarch (*de Defectu Orac.* 18) may hint (see under CELTS, § xvi. 5), but it was shut to all save a few favoured mortals who might be carried there in life. And possibly the hope that he might be so favoured of the gods buoyed up the Celt as he dreamed over this distant Elysium.

7. The Celtic Elysium and the gifts of civilization.—In the opinion of the Celts, as of many other peoples, wisdom and culture belonged first of all to the gods, by whom they were given to, or from whom they were stolen by, man. Examples of this have already been found in the tales in which a mysterious cauldron is stolen from the Other-world (§ 6). It is also hinted at in the tales of divine trees guarded from mortals, and in the belief in the hazels of wisdom which endowed mortals with supernatural wisdom and knowledge. But when men came to domesticate animals, it was believed in course of time that the knowledge of domestication or, more usually, the animals themselves had come from the gods; only, in this case, the animals were of a magical, supernatural character. Such a belief underlies the stories, already referred to, in which cows are stolen from their divine owners by Cúchulainn. In the tale of 'Nera's Adventures in the Other-world' (*RCel* x. 226), Nera obtains a wife and several kine from the *sid* of Cruachan; and similarly Tulchine, who took a wife from the Land of Promise, obtained

her favourite calf also by interceding with the goddess Morrigan (Stokes, *RCel* xvi. 62). In the *Mabinogion* (Loth, i. 122 ff.) the swine given to Pryderi by Arawn, king of Annwn, and hitherto unknown to man, are stolen from him by Gwydion, Pryderi being the son of Pwyll, a temporary king of Annwn (§ 3), and therefore, perhaps, originally one of the lords of Elysium. But though this raid was successful, the poem of 'The Spoils of Annwn' says, 'Stout was the prison of Gweir in Caer Sidi, Through the spite of Pwyll and Pryderi, No one before him went into it.' Gweir is probably identical with Gwydion (Rhys, *Hib. Lect.* 250), and this poem may then refer to another version of the myth in which the hero was unsuccessful, and was detained a prisoner in Elysium, to which imprisonment the later blending of Annwn with Hades gave a doleful character. In the *Triads* (Loth, ii. 215), Gweir is one of the three paramount prisoners of Britain. There is also reference in a late Welsh MS to a white roebuck and a puppy (in the *Triads* [Loth, ii. 259] a bitch, a roebuck, and a lapwing), which were stolen by Amathaon from Annwn, and which led to the battle of Goden between Arawn and Gwydion. In this battle Bran, fighting on the side of Arawn, could not be vanquished until Gwydion had guessed his name (*Myvyrian Arch.*, London, 1801, i. 167). The introduction of the name-tabu proves the story to be archaic. In some of these tales the animals are transferred to earth by a divine or semi-divine being, in whom we may see an early Celtic culture-hero. The tales themselves are attenuated forms of an earlier series of myths, which probably showed how all domestic animals were at first the property of the gods. An echo of these is still preserved in *Märchen* describing the theft of magical cattle from fairies. In the most primitive form of the myths the theft was doubtless from the under world of the gods of fertility, which was also connected with the place whither the dead went. But when the gods were also located in a distant Elysium, it was inevitable that some tales should tell how the theft was connected with that far-off land rather than with the land of under-earth divinities. But in neither case was the theft from gods of death, but from gods of life and fertility with whom all man's blessings were. So far as the Irish and Welsh tales are concerned, the thefts seem to be mainly from Elysium.

8. The lords of Elysium.—In Irish accounts of the *sid* world, the god Dagda appears to have the supremacy, which was wrested from him later by the Mac Oc. But in a probably later version we learn that, Dagda being dead, Bodh Dearg divided the *sid* among the gods, and Manannan gave them the gift of immortality (see CELTS). But in tales of the *sid* world, each owner of a *sid* is accounted lord of that particular *sid*, which for the time being eclipses all others. The one great under world of gods of fertility has now become a world of many underground *sid*. In Welsh tradition the lord of Annwn, wherever it is situated, is Arawn, but his claims are contested by a rival. In Irish tradition Manannan mac Lir is associated with the over-sea world or with the 'Land of Promise,' while Elysium itself is called 'the land of Manannan' in the *Voyage of Bran*. Manannan was probably a god of the sea, and it was easy to associate the over-sea world, 'around which sea-horses (i.e. the waves, the god's mythic steeds) glisten,' with him. But, again, as this land lay towards the setting sun, and in some of its aspects may have been suggested by the glories of the sunset, the sun-god Lug was also associated with it. But he hardly takes the place of Manannan; he comes from Manannan's land, with Manannan's sons and ramed with his weapons, to aid the gods, but

Manannan still remains lord of Elysium (Joyce, *Old Celt. Romances*, 37).

9. Elysium and Paradise.—While the tales already dealt with are mainly re-mouldings of earlier pagan originals, which may have been handed down orally, or are based upon the materials of pagan belief, they have in many ways been influenced by Christian ideas, although their main incidents are purely pagan. But in another class of tales, which may have had pagan originals, the Elysium conception recurs, and finally ends in becoming the Christian paradise or Heaven. These are the *Imrama*, or 'Voyages,' of which that of Maelduin, found partly in the 11th cent. *Lebor na hUidre*, and in complete form in 14th to 16th cent. MSS, still moves in a pagan atmosphere. Here the voyage is undertaken for the purpose of revenge; but the travellers reach a number of strange islands unpeopled, or peopled by men and women, by animals, or by monsters. One island closely resembles the Isle of Women in the pagan Elysium. Besides the Isle of Laughter, found also in *Bran*, there is an Isle of Weeping, and in this we approach the idea of a place of penitence. Another island, guarded by a fiery rampart, is peopled by beautiful human beings feasting and singing—an approach to the Christian paradise. The Isles of Weeping and Laughter are also found in the *Imram hua Corra*, where also is the island of the Miller of Hell, mentioned simply as a miller in *Maelduin*. Thus, even in *Maelduin* the use of the pagan materials is indeterminate, and the Elysium conceptions have become vague. Elsewhere, as in the *Voyage of Snedgus* and *Mac Riagla*, the journey is undertaken as a pilgrimage, and the Christian atmosphere is more pronounced. One island has become a kind of intermediate state, and in it dwell Elijah and Enoch and a multitude of others 'without sin, without wickedness,' waiting for the day of judgment. Another island is nothing less than the Christian Heaven viewed from an ecclesiastical standpoint. Finally, in the *Voyage of Brandan* the pagan elements have practically disappeared: there is an island of Hell and an island which is the Christian paradise or Heaven. In these *Imrama*, the number of islands visited may be compared to the thrice fifty islands of *Bran*, whether this be a later conception of the pagan Elysium or not; the old idea of a mortal lured thither by a goddess has disappeared, and the voyage is undertaken for a specific purpose—revenge or a pilgrimage. Another series of tales, in which a visit is paid to Hell and Heaven in a vision (*Adamnan's Vision*, *The Tidings of Doomsday*, etc.), are purely Christian products, but it is remarkable that the joys of heaven are described in terms of the pagan Elysium. There is unimaginable beauty, music, absence of sickness, of pain, of death; there is no age, decay, or labour. The whole description of heaven has a sensuous, material aspect which reflects that of the old pagan stories. In the latter text there are two hells; besides heaven there is a place for the *boni non valde* which corresponds to the island where dwell Enoch and Elijah in the *Voyage of Snedgus*. The conception of this island, which is not heaven, may be borrowed directly from the pagan paradise. The connexion of the pagan Elysium with the Christian paradise is also seen in the title of *Tír Tairngiri*, 'the Land of Promise,' which is applied to the heavenly kingdom or to the land flowing with milk and honey, as in glosses (7th or 8th cent.) on He 6¹², where *regnum coelorum* is explained as *tír tairngiri*, or He 4¹, where Canaan is so called, and notably on 1 Co 10⁴, where the heavenly land is called *tír tairngiri inna mbéo*, 'the land of promise of the living ones': thus apparently equalling it with the *tír na mbéo* of

'Connla's Voyage.' If *tír tairngiri* was not already a title of the pagan Elysium, it was now applied to it in several instances through the influence of this identification.

See Zimmer, 'Brendan's Meertahrt,' *ZDA* xxxiii. The *Immrama* of Snedgus, Maelduin, and Ua Corra are edited and translated by Stokes in *RCel* ix., x., xiv. *Adamnan's Vision* is edited and translated by Stokes, Calcutta, 1866; cf. C. S. Boswell, *Irish Precursor of Dante*, London, 1908; the *Tidings of Doomsday* is in *RCel* iv. 243. Cf. also chs. 4 and 8 of Nutt's *Bran*.

10. Elysium in later folklore.—Most of the aspects of the pagan Elysium re-appear in folk belief almost unchanged. The under or *sid* world is now fairyland; mounds, forts, and raths are fairy-dwellings into which mortals are sometimes inveigled, and where all the characteristics of the earlier divine world are found—magic lapse of time, marvellous beauty, magical properties. Similarly a marvellous over-sea land is still a commonplace of Celtic *Märchen* and Celtic belief. *Tír na nÓg* is still a living reality to the Celt. Within that fabled land are the mystic and magic things of folk-tale—the fountain of youth, healing balsams, life-giving fruits. It is peopled by marvellously beautiful women, or it is connected with fairy folk. Sometimes it is visible only to favoured persons, or it is sunk beneath the waves, and comes to the surface only at intervals. But in whatever form it is found, it is obviously linked on to the actual Elysium of the pagan Celtic world.

In the 11th cent. Irish documents, from which our knowledge of Elysium is mainly drawn, and which, of course, imply a remote antiquity for the material of the tales, the *sid* world is still the world of divine beings, though these are beginning to assume the traits of fairy folk. But probably among the people themselves the change had already been made, and the *sid* world was simply fairyland. In Wales the same change had early taken place, as is witnessed by the story of Elidurus enticed by two small people into a subterranean fairyland. This is fully told by Giraldus Cambrensis (*Itin. Camb.* i. 8). For the over-sea fairyland see J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, London, 1860–62; MacDougall, *Folk and Hero Tales*, London, 1891; Howells, *Cambrian Superstitions*, Tipton, 1881; Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, Paris, 1904, ii.; Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions*, London, 1866; or any collection of Celtic *Märchen*.

LITERATURE.—Translations or epitomes of most of the texts relating to the Other-world will be found in Windisch and Stokes, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1880–1900; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de Littérature Celt.* ii., Paris, 1884; S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, 1892; Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*², London, 1894; A. Nutt and K. Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895; Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, London, 1888, *Arthurian Legend*, Oxford, 1891; A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, London, 1905; E. Hull, 'The Idea of Hades in Irish Literature,' *FL* xviii. 1907. J. A. MACCULLOCH.

BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Greek and Roman).—i. Greek.—In the Homeric poems the gods alone are immortal. Nowhere in the older strata of the poems is immortality an attribute of man. Complete life for him exists only on earth and in the light of the sun, and only with the complete union of soul and body. When separated from the body, the soul passes out of this world into a shadowy, powerless existence, which is nowhere expressly stated to be eternal. The idea of an earthly paradise, i.e. an abode of bliss upon earth, where life is continued in full vigour without the sharp severance between soul and body which death requires, is an attempt to find a more comforting solution of the problem of an after-life. A solution so naive does not long remain an article of belief in Greece except among the ignorant vulgar. In the history of religion the idea is absorbed by the belief in immortality, which was soon fostered in Greece under the influence of imported mystical tenets and of philosophic systems founded upon them. The earthly bliss, which at best could be attained only by the favoured few, is transmuted into the heavenly bliss, which is promised after death to all who have lived uprightly. In the history of literature the idea survives as a beautiful fancy which is cherished by poets and often serves in later times as a basis for the romantic re-

constructions of human society in which the Greeks found a melancholy consolation for some of the darkest periods in their national life.

1. *Homer, Hesiod, and the Epic cycle*.—In Homer, as the gods alone are immortal, so they alone can confer immortality. Their favourite heroes, always of divine descent, have such immortality conferred upon them by the drinking of nectar or the eating of ambrosia, and are thereupon translated either to heaven or to an earthly paradise such as the Elysian plain. The most striking instance of such an earthly translation is to be seen in *Od.* iv. 561, where Proteus prophesies to Menelaus:

'But it is not thy destiny, O Menelaus, child of Zeus, to die and meet thy fate in horse-pasturing Argos. The immortal gods will send thee to the Elysian plain and the verge of the world where fair-haired Rhadamanthys dwells, where life is easiest for man. No snow falls there, nor any violent storm, nor rain at any time; but Ocean ever sends forth the clear, shrill blast of the West wind to refresh mankind; because thou hast Helen to wife and they count thee to be son-in-law to Zeus.' (Cf. *Eur. Hel.* 1676 ff.).

Here it should be noted that Elysium is on earth and not in Hades. It is the counterpart of Olympus, the mountain-home of the gods, described in almost the same words in *Od.* vi. 43–45. Further, Menelaus is not beatified as a reward for his merits. Like Rhadamanthys, he is of kin to Zeus. The blissful existence in Elysium which is conferred by the gods upon their kin is an exceptional privilege, exactly parallel to the eternity of pain which they inflict upon their enemies in Erebus (*Od.* xi. 576 ff.). The conception of Elysium in Homer is poetical rather than religious. The heroes who have passed thither exert no influence upon the world of men that they have left behind. The gods transfer to them none of their own prerogatives save immortality. The conception is an extension of the other ideals of blissful, though mortal, existence that are found in Homer—chiefly in the *Odyssey*, which is permeated by a peaceful spirit characteristic of men who have enjoyed undisturbed quiet long enough to value it, and foreign to the martial temper of the *Iliad*. Of such ideals the most noteworthy are the idyllic lands of Phæacia (*Od.* vii. 81), of the island of Syrie, the home of Eumæus (*Od.* xv. 403), and idyllic peoples such as the Abioi (*Il.* xiii. 6) and Ethiopians (*Il.* i. 423).

This enchanting fancy of an earthly paradise became an integral part of Greek thought once it had been incorporated in the Homeric poems. The common people of Greece were accustomed to the idea of 'translation' in the worship of such heroes as Amphiaras and Trophonios, who had passed, while yet alive, to a life below the earth. The 'translation' of heroes, so rare in Homer, is of common occurrence in the post-Homeric Epic. In the *Cypria*, Iphigeneia is rescued by Artemis, carried to the land of the Tauri and rendered immortal (Proclus in *Epicorum Graec. Frag.*, ed. Kinkel, p. 19). In the *Æthiopis*, Memnon is translated by his mother Eos to her home in the East and made immortal by Zeus at her request (*ib.* p. 33). In the same poem, Achilles is saved from death by Thetis and conveyed to the magic island of Leuke (*ib.* p. 34). In the *Telegonia*, the latest of such Epics, Telegonus, the son of Odysseus and Circe, brings the bodies of Penelope, Odysseus, and Telemachus to his mother, who confers immortality upon them in her home in *Ææa* (*ib.* p. 58).

Thus far the idea of an earthly paradise is developed at the will of each particular poet. The fortunate heroes have no common home, but are transferred to magic lands which are alike in nothing else save that they are beyond mortal ken. The various strands of fancy are woven together into a consistent whole by Hesiod, in whose poems we meet with the expression 'The Isles of the Blest' for the first time. In *Op. et Di.* 170 ff., after

the description of the three races of Gold, of Silver, and of Bronze, follows a fourth race better than the race of Bronze—the heroes or demigods who fought at Thebes and at Troy. Of these, some died, others were settled by Zeus at the world's end in the Islands of the Blest, 'where the earth produces sweet fruit for them thrice in the year.' As in Homer, they are completely severed from the world of men, and have no influence upon it. In Hesiod, further, they are heroes of the past, their tale is numbered, and no accessions to their ranks can come from the fifth degenerate race that is now on earth.

2. Pindar is far removed from the simple theological standpoint of Homer and Hesiod, but he is far too great a poet and prophet to reject a beautiful religious idea. He renders it wider and deeper. Whether from personal convictions, which had grown upon him during his repeated visits to Sicily since 477, or from a desire to satisfy his Sicilian patrons such as Gelo, Hiero, and Theron, who were hierophants of chthonic worship, he accepts a number of the dogmas of Orphic and Pythagorean mysticism, among which he finds a place for the popular belief in the Islands of the Blest. Pindar, on the one hand, represents the traditional belief that a full immortality can come only from the continued union of soul with body, a union to be secured only by Divine intervention (*s.g.* Ganymede, *Ol.* i. 44, x. 104; Amphiaras, *Ol.* vi. 14, *Nem.* ix. 24 ff.); but he has also absorbed the belief that the soul is no mere *Doppelgänger* of the body but is Divine in origin (frag. 131, 'the likeness of eternity is left: for that alone comes from Heaven'). It is immortal, but confined in a mortal body, owing to the 'ancient sin' (frag. 133, *παλαιὸν πένθος*). After the death of the body it is judged in Hades for its deeds on earth. The wicked are condemned to Tartarus; the good pass to the home of the pious (*χάρος εὐσεβῶν*). Only after three lives of purity have been completed on earth (*Ol.* ii. 68 ff.) is the ancient sin atoned for. Thereupon, in the ninth year after its last arrival in Hades (see Rohde, *Psyche*², ii. 211), the soul ascends to the world above for the last time, to become incorporated in kings, heroes, and wise men. Such souls are then freed from the trammels of the earth and find a home in the Island of the Blest, where under the rule of Kronos they live in communion with the earlier heroes, such as Peleus, Cadmus, and Achilles (*Ol.* ii. 86; frag. 133). Here the life of bliss is no longer an earthly paradise in the earlier sense. The Island is in Ocean, it is true, but can be reached only through death and through lives of purity lived upon earth.

3. There are scattered references to the belief in its original form found in later writers. Cadmus and Harmonia are transferred to the Land of the Blest (*μακάρων ἐς αἶαν*), in Eur. *Bacch.* 1339 ff.; Achilles and Diomedes live in the Island of the Blest, according to the scholion on Harmodios (Bergk, *Carm. pop. fr.* 10). According to Plato (*Symp.* 179 E), Achilles is in the Isles of the Blest. Others find his home on the Elysian plain (Apoll. Rhod. *Arg.* iv. 811) or in Leuke (see below), where he has Medea to wife, according to Ibycus the melic poet of the 6th cent. (*schol.* Apoll. Rhod. iv. 814), or, according to others, Iphigeneia (Antoninus Liberalis, 37) or Helen (Pausanias, iii. 19. 11-13). For further references see Rohde, *Psyche*², ii. 369, note 2.

A naive belief that it was possible to discover these fortunate lands long continued. The most striking instance is the resolve of Sertorius to sail for the Atlantic isles in the search for happiness (Plut. *Sert.* 8. 9; Sallust, *Hist.* i. frag. 102, Maurenbrecher). Geographers often placed them in the unknown, and therefore mysterious, West,

where (akin to them in idea) was the garden of the Hesperides, with its golden apples of immortality (cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Herakles*¹, ii. 129; Eur. *Hippol.* 732 ff.). They are in West Africa, according to Strabo, i. 3, iii. 150, and Plin. *HN* vi. 202 ff. Others placed them in the centre of Libya (Herod. iii. 26) or in the Antipodes (cf. Serv. *Æn.* vi. 532). The home of Diomedes was found in the Tremiti islands in the Adriatic (Strabo, vi. 283, 284). Leuke, the isle of Achilles, was placed in the Euxine (Alcæus, *Fr.* 48^b; Pind. *Nem.* iv. 49; Eur. *Andr.* 1232 ff., *Iph.* T. 420), at the mouth of the Danube (Paus. iii. 19. 11), and was counted as one of the Isles of the Blest (cf. Plin. *HN* iv. 93, 'Insula Achillea, eadem Leuce et Macaron dicta'). Similar legendary lands are placed near the Indian Ocean (cf. Aristophanes, *Av.* 144; *Æsch.* frag. 192, Nauck). For further attempts see Hesychius *s.v.* 'Lesbos,' and Suidas *s.v.* 'Rhodos.' A parody of the belief will be found in Lucian's *Vera Historia*, ii. 6 ff. The inscriptions containing references to the Elysian plain and the Isles of the Blest may be consulted most conveniently in G. Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca, ex lapidibus collecta*, Berlin, 1878. But here it is no question of earthly bliss. The Blessed Isles (*Ep.* 649. 2), the Elysian plain (*Ep.* 414. 8), the *χάρος εὐσεβῶν* (*Ins. Gr. mar.* *Æg.* i. 141), are not of this world, but only testify to a life beyond the grave to which the righteous can aspire. The Epigram on Regilla, the wife of Herodes Atticus (1046. 8), *μεθ' ἡρώωνι νύκταται ἐν μακάρων ῥήσασιν ἢ Κρόνος ἐμβαλεῖν*, is merely a literary adaptation of the older belief.

4. *The Romance writers.*—The best account of these will be found in Rohde's *Griechische Roman*², pp. 178-260. The political downfall of Greece, which began in the 4th cent. B.C., and the widespread disasters which accompanied it, led men to seek relief from the hopelessness of present affairs in the freedom of fanciful speculations. Social reformers, whether politicians or philosophers, embodied their ideas in sentimental romances—a branch of literature which developed naturally out of the old sagas (*e.g.* the tale of the Argonauts) and the stories of fabulous adventure and ethnographical curiosities which had long been popular in Greece. As early as Solon we find a comic description of a land of good things (Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici*⁴, frag. 38). But the first serious philosophical romance comes from Plato, who portrays his ideal of earthly perfection in the State of 'Atlantis.' The ground-plan of this is sketched in the *Timæus* (cf. esp. 20 D-25 E), and was to be completed in the *Critias*. Theopompus (c. 333 B.C.) made a similar attempt. In the eighth book of his *Philippica* he introduced a description of an ideal country called 'Meropis' with its cities *Machimos* and *Eusebes*—the first a town of warriors, the second the abode of peace and justice. A more philosophic work was 'The Hyperboreans' of Hecataeus of Abdera, a philosopher at the court of Ptolemy I., and a pupil of the sceptic Pyrrho. Pyrrho's philosophy was less a theory of doubt than a conviction that the whole world of things was unworkable, and that a calm indifference was the only feasible rule of conduct. His pupil's romance on the Hyperboreans, who live in the island of Helixioia, in the Northern Ocean, seems to have been prompted by similar views. Amometus, a contemporary of the first and second Ptolemys, travelled outside the range of native mythology, and based his romance of the Attacori (Plin. *HN* vi. 17, § 55) upon the Indian legend of the happy land of Uttarakuru, north of the Himalayas (cf. Lassen, *WZKM* ii. 63, 64). Euhemerus of Messana, the friend of king Cassander (c. 306 B.C.), finds his Utopia in the island of Panchaia in the Indian Ocean. Iambulus (of uncertain date, but earlier than the age of Augustus) finds an Island

of the Blest near the equator. The popularity of such romances is sufficiently shown by the travesty of them given by Lucian in his *Vera Historia*. Their influence extended beyond Greece, since the description of the Essenes in Josephus (*BJ* II. viii. 11) is held to show traces of Greek colour.

ii. **Roman.**—The idea of an earthly paradise was never native to Roman thought. A belief in immortality was always an integral part of the Roman religion. With the assurance of an after-life in the world of spirits, colourless though it might be, the practical Roman had no need of such a conception. Such references to the belief as are found in Latin literature are importations from the Greek: e.g. Plautus, *Trin.* 549: 'Fortunatorum memorant insulas, Quo cuncti qui aetatem egerint caste suam, Conveniant.' The beautiful description in Horace, *Epodes*, xvi. 39 ff., is suggested in all probability by the story of Sertorius mentioned above. See also STATE OF THE DEAD (Greek and Roman).

LITERATURE.—E. Rohde, *Psyche* 2, 2 vols., Freiburg, 1898, and *Der Griechische Roman* 2, Leipzig, 1900; L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* 4, ed. C. Robert, Berlin, 1887-94; Dieterich, *Nekyia*, Leipzig, 1893. F. W. HALL.

BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Hindu).—The Hindus believe that there was, and is still, a place of bliss on earth, a kind of earthly paradise, inaccessible to men, and far far away from our part of the earth. But the idea, frequent among many savage tribes and some civilized peoples, that the brave and the virtuous go to such a place on their decease, seems not to have been current in ancient India. For already in the *Rigveda* the abode of the dead who in life have done pious deeds is said to be in heaven above, and, according to the *Atharvaveda*, the wicked receive their punishment in the hell below.* And in later Sanskrit literature heavens were multiplied to such an extent that the souls of the deceased were amply provided for, and required no dwelling place on earth such as the Islands of the Blessed of the ancients. The Indian belief in a place of bliss cannot therefore have developed from an earlier one in a heaven on earth; but we shall postpone our inquiry into the probable origin of this belief till we have described it in all its details. We must, however, define this place of bliss more accurately as one believed to be still in existence, in order to distinguish it from the state of bliss which obtained in the Golden Age, when the whole earth, newly come into existence, was, as it were, all one abode of the Blessed.† In the Sanskrit epics, the *Purāṇas*, and the classical literature the *Uttarakurus* are regarded as the Blessed, and their land as an earthly paradise which is localized in the far North.

i. **Site of Uttarakuru.**—It will be convenient first to set forth the Pauranic opinion on the site of Uttarakuru, since it is the most explicit one. According to the *Purāṇas*, the earth, of which India forms part, is a circular island, or rather insular continent, of enormous dimensions, called Jambūdvīpa. There are six more such islands, Śākadvīpa etc., which, however, are not connected with our present subject. In the centre of Jambūdvīpa rises Mount Meru, 84,000 *yojanas* above the surface of the earth. The whole continent is divided by six parallel mountain ranges, running due east and west, three south of Meru and three north of it. The southernmost range is the Himālaya, and the segment of the disc of the earth lying to the south of it is Bharatavarṣa, or India, and some countries known to the Indians.

* A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Mythology' (in *Grundriss der Indischen Philol. und Altertumskunde*), Strassburg, 1897, p. 167 ff.

† See art. AGES OF THE WORLD (Indian) in vol. I. p. 200 ff.

The counterpart of Bharatavarṣa, i.e. the segment to the north of the northernmost range, Śrīgin, is Uttarakuru. It may be mentioned that the other *varṣas*, or strips of land between the several mountain ranges, are also inhabited by fabulous people; the model of them all seems to have been the Uttarakurus. From the position of the country of the latter it is clear that they were regarded as the antipodes of men, if it be allowed to apply this term to an earth figured as a disc.

In the *Bhīṣma Parvan*, adhy. v. and vi., in a part of the *Mahābhārata* of a decidedly Pauranic character, we meet with a somewhat different description of the earth, called here Sudarśana instead of Jambūdvīpa. The number, arrangement, and names of the mountain ranges is the same as in the *Purāṇas*, but the names of some of the *varṣas* are different, and those of the two most northern ones are omitted. In viii. 10, however, the most northern segment is called Airāvata, not Uttarakuru, which, by the way, is also the case with the Jains; yet the excellence of the country and the happiness of the inhabitants of Airāvata are exactly like those of the Uttarakurus as described in a preceding chapter. In this account (vi. 13) the land of the Uttarakurus is stated to lie at the northern side of Meru, or near the centre of the disc of the earth. Round Meru, we are told, are grouped four *dvīpas*, lit. 'islands,' but, according to the commentary, countries surrounded by a broad river; these islands are Uttarakuru N., Bhadrāśva E., Jambūdvīpa S., Ketumāla W. Here we must distinguish, it seems, two accounts: the Pauranic account, which is made the basis of the description of the earth; and, combined with it, an older one, which places Meru in the ocean, and the four insular continents round it.* Here, too, Jambūdvīpa is the abode of men, and Uttarakuru that of the Siddhas.

What the present writer considers the earlier of these two accounts is actually the idea underlying the Buddhist system of geography. There Meru rises from the ocean, round it are seven concentric circular mountain ranges separated from each other by ring-shaped seas, and beyond them, in the vast ocean known to men, are four insular continents—Jambūdvīpa S., Pūrvavideha E., Uttarakuru N., and Aparagodāna W. Jambūdvīpa, the abode of men, is of a triangular shape, and Uttarakuru, the abode of the Blessed who live 1000 years, forms a square.†

The Jains, whose geography has been developed on the same lines as that of the *Purāṇas*,‡ also place the Uttarakurus near the centre of the Jambūdvīpa, between Gandhamādāna and Mālyavat, two spurs of Mount Meru running N.W. and N.E.§

In such parts of the epics as do not yet exhibit the fully established system of Pauranic geography, the Uttarakurus are placed in the extreme North, in the borderland of the inhabited or known earth. In the *Digvijayaparvan* of the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (ii. 28), Arjuna's conquest of the northern countries is related. After having passed the Himālaya and the fabulous mountains Niṣkuṭa and Svetaparvata, and having vanquished many mythical people, Arjuna reaches the north of the country Harivarṣa. There he is warned not to proceed further, because the region beyond

* The *Purāṇas* also mention those four countries, substituting, however, Bhārata for Jambūdvīpa, and likening them to the petals of a lotus whose pericarp is Mount Meru. Sometimes they seem to be regarded as countries in Ilāvṛta or the middle *varṣa*, sometimes as islands lying off the coast of Jambūdvīpa in the great ocean. The efforts of the *Purāṇas* to explain result in worse confusion.

† C. F. Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung*, Berlin, 1857, vol. I. p. 232 f.

‡ *Tattvārthadhigama Sūtra*, by Umāsvāti, ch. iii., tr. in *ZDMG*, vol. ix.

§ *Tattvārthadhigama Sūtra*, ed. *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1903, Appendix, p. 28 f.

is that of the Uttarakurus: 'he that entereth it, if human, is sure to perish.' In the *Rāmāyana* (iv. 43) we meet with a description of the North where the monkeys are despatched in search of Sitā. There many fabulous mountains and places, which do not form part of the Pauranic system of geography, are mentioned. In the North sun and moon cease to shed light, and even farther north live the Uttarakurus.* Their country is bounded by the Northern Ocean, in which rises Mount Somagiri, scarcely accessible even to gods.

Notwithstanding the prevalence of Pauranic geography during the classical period and some centuries before it, some faint knowledge of an actual tribe of Uttarakurus, somewhere on the slopes of the Himalayas, seems to have continued even then. Lassen† has drawn attention to some notices in the Epics and classical writers where the Uttarakurus are not regarded as a fabulous people. Important in this regard seems to be a passage in the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, iii. 145, where the Uttarakurus are placed south of Kailāsa. Mr. Pargiter, commenting on a passage in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*‡ where the (Uttara) Kurus are mentioned among the people 'who rest against the Mountains,' has the following note which sums up the whole question under discussion:

'They seem to have been the stock from which the Kurus of Madhyadēś separated off, for the period when Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Paṇḍu were born is described as a Golden Age, in which both branches of the Kurus engaged in happy rivalry (Adi-P. cix. 4337-46); but the wistful recollections of their ancient home idealized it afterwards into a blissful land, where fancy gave itself free scope (Rāmāy., Kiśk. xlv. 82-115). They seem to have occupied the uppermost valley of the Indus near its sources, with Kailāsa lying beyond (Vana-P. cxlv. 71025-35); and fervid imagination also placed them close to Mount Meru on its north side (Bhishma-P. vi. 207-8, and vii. 254), or in the region Harivarṇa, and declared men could not enter their sacred land (Sabbā-P. xxvii. 1064-8). They are described as living in primitive happiness, and women had the utmost freedom there (722, 4719-23; and Rāmāy. loc. cit.)'

The first mention of the Uttarakurus is contained in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. In viii. 14 we read: 'hence all people living in northern countries, such as the Uttarakurus, Uttaramadras, are inaugurated for living without a king (*vairājyam*), and called Virāj, i.e. "without king."§ Here the Uttarakurus seem to be a real people, i.e. one with which the Indians, at the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, were actually acquainted, or, at least, of which they had some kind of positive knowledge; for the very name *Northern Kurus*, and the fact that they are mentioned jointly with the Northern Madras, proves that these peoples of the North were regarded as related by kinship to the well-known Indian tribes of the Kurus and Madras. But the Uttarakurus were already looked upon as superior beings, for in the same *Brāhmaṇa* (viii. 23) it is declared that Uttarakuru 'is the land of the gods, no mortal can conquer it.'||

It must be added that Ptolemy (vi. 16) mentions a mountain, people, and town of the name of *Ottorokorra*, which obviously stands for Uttarakuru; but he places Ottorokorra in Serica or China. Whatever may have been his reason for doing so, he apparently regarded them as a real, not a mythical people. And so did Pliny (vi. 20), who mentions them under the name of *Attacori*, and places them near the Phruri and Tochari. On the other hand, many fables seem to have been told of them. For Pliny says: 'de iis privatim condidit'

* Even in later Pauranic myths we meet with the belief that the sun does not shine in the land of the Uttarakurus; e.g. Sañjñā, the wife of the Sun, escaped in the shape of a mare in order that her husband might not discover her (*Harivamśa*, 561 ff.; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, ch. 77).

† *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. ii. p. 65 ff.

‡ See his translation of that Purāṇa in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1904, p. 845.

§ M. Haug, *The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii. p. 518.

|| *Ib.* p. 527.

volumen Amometus, sicut Hecataeus de Hyperboreis.' Megasthenes seems to intend the Uttarakurus by his Hyperborei* who live 1000 years, for this is the length of life of the Uttarakurus according to the Buddhists.

2. Description of Uttarakuru.—The classical passages about the land and the inhabitants of Uttarakuru are *Rāmāyana* iv. 43 and *Mahābhārata* vi. 7, of which we subjoin a translation:

In *Rāmāyana* iv. 43 it is said that in the farthest North sun and moon at last cease to shine; and if you still proceed you come to the river Śailodā, whose water, according to the Bengal redaction of the text, turns into stone the man who touches it. 'On either bank of that river grow reeds, called *kiśhaka*, which carry the Blessed (*Siddhas*) to the opposite bank and back. There is Uttarakuru, the abode of the pious, watered by lakes with golden lotuses. There are rivers by thousands, full of leaves of the colour of sapphire and lapis lazuli, and the lakes, resplendent like the morning sun, are adorned by golden beds of red lotus. The country all round is covered with costly jewels and precious stones, with gay beds of blue lotuses of golden petals. Instead of sand, round pearls, costly jewels, and gold form the banks of the rivers, which are covered with trees of precious stones, trees of gold shining like fire. The trees always bear flowers and fruits, they swarm with birds, they are of a heavenly smell and touch, and yield all desires; other trees bring forth clothes of various shapes. [Here we omit four verses pronounced spurious by the Commentator.] All the inhabitants do pious deeds, all are given to love, all, dwelling together with their wives, have their desires fulfilled. There one always hears the sound of song and music mixed with gay laughter, pleasant to all creatures. There is none who does not rejoice, none whose desires are not fulfilled; and every day those pleasant qualities grow brighter.' The text of the Bengal redaction is much more detailed, and contains some additions which are out of place there, but on the whole it is in the same strain. Besides the items given above, there are mentioned rivers flowing with milk which form a deposit of boiled rice, and trees on which grow beautiful maidens hanging down from their branches.

The description of Uttarakuru in *Mahābhārata* vi. 7 runs thus in Protap Chandra Roy's translation: 'On the south of the Nila mountain and the northern side of Meru are the sacred Northern Kurus, which are the residence of the Siddhas. The trees there bear sweet fruits, and are always covered with fruits and flowers. All the flowers (there) are fragrant, and the fruits of excellent taste. Some of the trees, again, yield fruits according to the will (of the plucker). There are, again, some other trees that are called milk-yielding. These always yield milk and six different kinds of food of the taste of *Amṛta* itself. Those trees also yield clothes, and in their fruits are ornaments (for the use of man). The entire land abounds with fine golden sands. A portion of the region there, extremely delightful, is seen to be possessed of the radiance of the ruby, or of the lapis lazuli, or other jewels and gems. All the seasons there are agreeable, and nowhere does the land become miry. The tanks are charming, delicious, and full of crystal water. The men born there are dropped from the world of the celestials. All are of pure birth, and all are handsome in appearance. There twins (of opposite sexes) are born, and the women resemble *Aparas* in beauty. They drink the milk, sweet as *amṛta*, of those milk-yielding trees (already mentioned). And the twins born there (of opposite sexes) grow up equally. Both possessed of equal beauty, both endowed with similar virtues, and both equally dressed, both grow up in love like a couple of *chakravākas*. The people of that country are free from illness, and are always cheerful. Ten thousand and ten hundred years they live, and never abandon one another. A class of birds called *bādrupā*, furnished with sharp beaks and possessed of great strength, take them up when dead and throw them into mountain caves. One more item must be added. In the following chapter it is narrated that on the south of Mount Meru there grows the gigantic Jambū tree Sudarśana, from which the name of *Jambūdvīpa* is derived. It touches the very skies, and bears fruits of 1116 cubits circumference. 'In falling upon the earth these fruits make a loud noise, and then pour out a silvery juice on the ground. That juice of the Jambū, becoming a river, and passing circuitously round Mount Meru, cometh to (the region of) the Northern Kurus. If the juice of that fruit is quaffed, it conduces to peace of mind. No thirst is felt ever after; decrepitude never weakens them.'

Most Purāṇas give no detailed descriptions of the Uttarakurus, for the number of fabulous peoples inhabiting the other *varṇas* beyond the Himalaya is very great in the Purāṇas, and all these peoples live in a state of happiness denied to the human race.† They were in some degree the equals of the Uttarakurus who, though still regarded as the blessed race, lost something of the interest originally attached to them. There is, however, a description of Uttarakuru in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*‡ which is apparently based

* Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica*, Bonn, 1846, p. 117.

† See *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, tr. p. 282.

‡ Tr. p. 890.

on that contained in the passage of the *Mahābhārata* given above; some details added to it are of no importance.

The principal points in the above accounts of the Uttarakurus seem to be the following. They are a race of superior beings, called *Siddhas*, neither gods nor men. Exempt from suffering, caused by illness or old age, through the juice of the miraculous Jambū tree, they lead a long life of happiness and sensual pleasures, and after death their corpses are removed by miraculous birds to mountain caves. Their country is situated far north, at the border of the known world, and it is made inaccessible to man either by its own virtues or by the petrifying river Sailodā which encircles it. To this picture the *Mahābhārata* adds some traits borrowed from the description of the Golden Age given in the Purāṇas.* For the Uttarakurus are said to feed on the juice of milk-yielding trees, and to be born as twins, of opposite sexes, who form a couple, just as was the case with primitive men in the first *kr̥tayuga*. A similar tendency to ascribe to the Uttarakurus the condition of primitive mankind may be discovered in another passage of the *Mahābhārata*,† where it is stated that originally all women had sexual intercourse with whomsoever they pleased, and that this state of things still prevails in Uttarakuru.

Now assuming, as we are entitled to do, that there was in early times a race of Kurus, related to their famous namesakes in Madhyadeśa, but living outside the limits of India proper, it is easy to imagine how they came to be regarded as the Blessed and their country as a place of bliss. For people look with a kind of awe on neighbouring tribes of whom they have but slight knowledge, and they are wont to ascribe to them superior magical powers, as the Finns do to the Lapps; hence the Uttarakurus, probably, have come to be regarded as *Siddhas*, which term originally denotes one who has acquired *siddhi*, i.e. perfection or magical power, by means of *yoga*. But there was also another factor at work: almost everything connected with the Himalāya seems to partake, in some degree, of the sanctity and even divine character which the Hindus attribute to that gigantic mountain range. When, therefore, the Uttarakurus, whose memory was kept alive and heightened by the fame of their powerful relations, the Kurus of Madhyadeśa, came to be looked upon as superior to common men, their country, situated in the sacred Himālaya and hallowed by it, naturally was imagined as a kind of earthly paradise, full of wonders and free from ills, where the happiness of primitive mankind lingered on to the present day.

This theory of the origin of the belief discussed in this article appears to the present writer preferable to the older opinion, viz. that Uttarakuru was the original home of the Kurus of Madhyadeśa, and that 'the wistful recollections of it idealized it afterwards into a blissful land, where fancy gave itself free scope.' For the belief in question was not restricted to the Kurus, but was common to all Indians; and, besides, such recollections of their ancient home presuppose an intense love of their country, which seems inconsistent with the nature of half-nomadic tribes. At least no such recollections can be instanced from any other of the numerous Indian tribes who all, in some remote past, migrated to India from beyond its borders. See also STATE OF THE DEAD (Hindu).

LITERATURE.—Besides the works quoted in the notes, see Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, vol. I. p. 516 ff. (2nd ed. p. 612 ff.), 1847-61, and *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, II. 59 ff.; Scherman, *Materialien zur Gesch. der ind. Völkervölker*, 1893.

H. JACOBI.

* See art. AGES OF THE WORLD (Indian) in vol. I. p. 200 ff.
† *Adiparvan*, cxxii.

BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Japanese).—1. The ancient native religion of Japan, Shinto, had little to say regarding a future life, and the old records or sacred books are practically silent on the subject. The clearest reference to the state of the dead occurs in the *Nihongi* (*Trans. Jap. Soc. Supp. I. i. 296*, London, 1896), where the dead Tamichi appears from his tomb as a serpent and kills his enemies. 'Therefore the men of that time said, "Although dead, Tamichi at last had his revenge. How can it be said that the dead have no knowledge?"' Shinto, in its later developments, has been influenced by Buddhism regarding the future state of the dead. The earlier texts frequently refer to an under world called Yomi ('darkness'), the Root-country (*Ne no kuni*), or Bottom-land (*Soko no kuni*). This neutral-tinted Hades is called 'a hideous and polluted land' (*Nihongi*, i. 24), and one prayer invokes protection against 'the unfriendly and savage beings of the Root-country' (Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1905, p. 187). But, though it is not stated to be the region of the dead, the word *yomi* appears to have been used metaphorically for the grave or the state of the dead. There are gods in Yomi, and some of them descended there after death, like Izanami, whom her husband, Izanagi, tried to rescue, according to a myth resembling that of Orpheus and Eurydice (Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, Yokohama, 1883, p. 36; *Nihongi*, i. 24; for other tales of descents to Yomi, see Aston, 106, 181; Joly, *Legend in Japanese Art*, London, 1908, p. 11). This myth may simply be a reflexion of the belief that mortals, when they died, went to Yomi. Native writers on Shinto have identified Yomi with the state or place of the dead (Dazai Jun [1680-1747], *Trans. Third Inter. Cong. Hist. Rel.*, Oxford, 1908, i. 163; Motoōri [1730-1801]; Aston, 55), but the question is obscure. Generally the gods of Yomi are divinities of death, disease, pestilence, and poverty, and in a *Norito*, or Ritual, offences are described as sent to Yomi by the god Ibuki-do nushi (Aston, 302). In later times, Yomi is regarded as a place of punishment, and is identified with the Buddhist Jigoku, or hell (Joly, 117; Aston, 54, 367).

2. Heaven.—As in most primitive forms of eschatology a difference is made between the future state of men of rank, power, and wealth, and that of the masses of the people, so it was probably in Japan. Izanagi, who was not immortal, after his futile attempt to regain Izanami, died, and went, according to one account, to an island; but, according to another, to heaven, and dwelt in the palace of the Sun. The 'plain of high heaven' is also the place where great men, heroes, mikados, and the like are said to go, there to dwell with the gods. This is in accordance with the later deification of men, whether living or dead (mikados, wise, virtuous, and heroic men), who would then be associated with the heavenly deities, as a class of lesser gods. Later Shintoism, adopting Chinese views of the soul, maintains that, at death, the *kon*, the positive spirit or *yang*, goes to heaven (Aston, 52). *Ame*, or heaven, where the gods dwell, is minutely described in the early records. It lay just over the earth, and was connected with it by the 'floating bridge of heaven' (perhaps the rainbow), and supported by a pillar, though the wind-gods are also described as the pillars of heaven. The tranquil river of heaven is the milky way, where the gods assemble. It has mountains, caves, valleys, streams, groves, fields, trees, and flowers, and all kinds of grain. The rock-cave of heaven, whither the sun-goddess on one occasion retired, is particularly referred to, as well as the rare jewels, the marvellous mirror, and the splendid robes hung on the sacred *sakaki*.

tree to tempt her forth. The scenery of the 'plain of high heaven' is that of earth on a more beautiful and extensive scale. (For these details, see *Ko-ji-ki* and *Nihongi*.) Tales of mortals ascending to the sky and remaining there, either through magical powers or by divine favour, are common (Joly, 163, 295).

3. The Eternal Land.—*Toko-yo no kuni*, the Eternal Land, is sometimes spoken of as the place whither certain persons go after death, e.g. the god Sukunabikona and a brother of Jimmu, the first Mikado (Aston, 54, 117). This Eternal Land is sometimes identified with Korea or China. From it Tajima Mori brought a fragrant fruit, the orange. The land lay across the sea and took ten years to reach, and on his return he said, 'This Eternal Land is no other than the mysterious realm of gods and genii, to which mortals cannot attain' (*Nihongi*, i. 186-7). In a well-known popular tale the Eternal Land is identified with the palace beneath the waves of the Dragon King of the Sea.

Urashima, having rescued the king's daughter, went thither with her and remained for three years. At the end of that time he left, promising to return, and was given a box which his wife forbade him to open. Having reached his home, he found that over 300 years had elapsed and he was thought to be dead. Forgetting the injunction he opened the box, when a light puff of smoke came from it. This was his soul, and he fell dead (Joly, 382; Aston, 52).

The Eternal Land is also identified with *Hōraisan*, an island paradise of which Japanese legend and art have much to tell. *Hōraisan* is the land of everlasting life, where stands Fusan, the mountain of immortality. On it grows a wonderful tree with roots of silver, a trunk of gold, and fruits of rare jewels. The finest flowers and fruits, all unfading, grow there; eternal spring reigns; the air is always sweet, the sky always blue. The place is rarely found by mortals, though many have sought it, for it is visible only for a moment afar off.

One favourite story tells how Wasoblowe reached it after long voyaging and was met there by Jofuku, another mortal visitor, who had fled from a tyrannical emperor under pretence of seeking the herb of immortality, and had found life so pleasant in *Hōraisan* that he had no wish to return. Wasoblowe also remained there for two hundred years, which lapsed away as in a dream. All things remained as in a perpetual present; there was neither birth, sickness, decay, nor death. The island was peopled by wise men and beautiful women, the elect of the gods, and with them he passed the years with laughter, music, and song. But he tired of this unvarying sweetness and calm, and longed for death or escape. Finding no means of dying, for death was impossible there, he trained a giant stork to carry him, and at last fled away on its back. After many other wanderings he returned to Japan to tell of the wonders of *Hōraisan* (Brauns, *Jap. Märchen*, Leipzig, 1885, 146; Rinder, *Old-World Japan*, London, 1896, 79; Joly, 126, 239, 286).

4. Western Paradise of Japanese Buddhists.—Several influential sects of Buddhism in Japan, though their teaching is rejected by many other Japanese Buddhists, owe their popularity to their doctrine of the Western Paradise of Amida. This doctrine of Northern Buddhism was first introduced into Japan in definite form by the Jō-dō Shū, or 'Sect of the Pure Land,' and it is plainly expressed in one of the books of the Northern Buddhist canon, honoured and widely read by these sects, the *Hok-ké-kiō*, the Japanese name for the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, an extremely rhetorical and imaginative work. The founder of the Jō-dō sect in Japan was the Buddhist saint, Hōnen (1133-1211), the fundamental tenet of his teaching being belief in the power of the saviour Amida, Lord of Sukhāvati, the land of purity and bliss in the West. This teaching was based on that of the Chinese founder of the sect, Zhiyi. Entrance to the pure land of Amida after death was made to depend upon belief in, and repetition of, prayer to Amida; and this simple doctrine, easily understood, at once became popular. According to Hōnen,

'Perfect bliss Amida would not have till he knew that all who would invoke him might be saved. This is his primal vow. Every sentient being has the chance of being saved, since he is living in enlightenment. Whoever calls earnestly upon his name, will enter that realm of purity. Amida Buddha, as in a vision, he shall see coming to him, and at death he shall welcome him with all his saints; nor shall obstacles nor demons keep him back' (Anesaki, 'Hōnen, the Pietist Saint,' *Trans. Third Inter. Cong. Hist. of Rel.*, Oxford, 1903, i. 124 f.).

Even more emphatically is faith in Amida alone taught by the Shin-shū, or 'True Sect,' which also holds out the reward of the Western Paradise, painting its delights in more attractive colours, while it teaches that not merely at death does Amida take the believer under his protection to conduct him to paradise, but even now, immediately upon his profession of belief. The Nichiren Sect, on the other hand, teaches that a man must work out his own salvation. Amida dwells in this blissful Western Paradise or Pure Land, called Sukhāvati, as ruler of the blessed dead. In it, said Hōnen,

'There shall be no distinction, no regard to male or female, good or bad, exalted or lowly; none shall fail to have Pure Land, after having called, with complete desire, on Amida. Just as a great stone, if on a ship, may complete a voyage of myriads of miles over the great waters, and yet not sink; so we, though our sins are heavy as giant boulders, are borne to the other shore by Amida's primal vows, not sinking in the sea of birth and death' (Anesaki, i. 125).

The Pure Land is open to all who wish to be re-born there, and this blissful existence is thus made easy for all to whom the necessary discipline for the final attainment of Nirvāṇa presents endless difficulties, while it has taken the place of Nirvāṇa in practical thought. The Pure Land is thus described in the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*:

'There no women are to be found; there sexual intercourse is absolutely unknown; there the sons of Gīna, on springing into existence by apparitional birth, are sitting in the undelled cups of lotuses. And the Chief Amitābha himself is seated on a throne in the pure and nice cup of a lotus, and shines as the Śāla-king' (Kern, *SBE* xli. 417).

The same work also states that any female, after reading and learning its twenty-second chapter ('Ancient Devotion')

'will, after disappearing from earth, be re-born in the world Sukhāvati, where the Lord Amitāyās, the Tathāgata dwells, exists, lives, surrounded by a host of Bodhisattvas. There will he (who formerly was a female) appear seated on a throne consisting of the interior of a lotus; no affection, no hatred, no infatuation, no pride, no envy, no wrath, no malignity will vex him.' He becomes a Bodhisattva, his equal is not to be found in the world, including the gods, with the only exception of the Tathāgata (ib. 289 ff.; cf. 261-264).

Again, those who write and keep this Sutra 'shall, when they disappear from this world, be re-born in the company of the gods of paradise, and at that birth shall eighty-four thousand heavenly nymphs immediately come near them. Adorned with a high crown, they shall as angels dwell amongst those nymphs' (ib. 435).

Vivid descriptions of the Western Paradise abound in the larger and smaller *Sukhāvativyūha*, works which are of authority to the Pure Land and Shin-shū sects (*SBE* xlix. pt. ii., Oxford, 1894). In the smaller work, birth in the Land of Bliss occurs if the name of Buddha Amitābha is merely repeated for a few nights before death; and it asserts that birth there is not a reward and result of good works in earthly life (*op. cit.* 98 f.). But in the larger work the doctrine of merit is not thus neglected. According to both works, the Happy or Blissful Land is a state where there is neither mental nor bodily pain, for pleasure is universal; the name of hell is unknown, and the length of life there is immeasurable. It is adorned with terraces, and enclosed on every side with the four gems, gold, silver, beryl, and crystal. It contains lotus lakes adorned with gems, on their banks grow trees of gems, in their waters float lotus flowers of various colours. There are great rivers of different kinds, with waters of different sweet odours, bearing up flowers of different perfumes and adorned with different gems. The dwellers there bathe in the waters, which rise exactly to the height they desire, and are exactly of the temperature they prefer. Exquisite music is

caused by the flowing of the rivers, by the trees and bells, by innumerable birds singing in concert. Every one born in that land is endowed with strength, dominion, and accumulation of virtue, and obtains dress, ornaments, gardens, palaces, and every enjoyment of touch, taste, smell, and sound. Whatever food they desire they enjoy without even tasting it. Or if they desire musical instruments, or ornaments, or a palace, these appear before them; and in such palaces they dwell and enjoy themselves, surrounded by myriads of Apsarases. Language and metaphor are exhausted in these two works to set forth the bliss of this glorious, fertile, and beautiful Paradise. Probably the original source of the conception of the Land of Bliss was the Brāhmanic teaching regarding the city of Varuna in the west, sometimes called *Sukhā*, or 'the Happy' (Max Müller, introd. *SBE* xlix. pt. ii. p. xxii). Many Japanese works have been composed on the Western Paradise of Amitābha.

See, further, Buddhist section of this article, p. 687^a.

LITERATURE.—W. E. Griffiths, *Religions of Japan*, London, 1895; W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1905; M. Revon, *Le Shintōisme*, Paris, 1907; H. L. Joly, *Legend in Jap. Art*, Lond. 1908; B. H. Chamberlain, 'Ko-ji-ki, or Records of Ancient Matters,' *TASJ*, vol. x. Suppl. Yokohama, 1883; W. G. Aston, 'Nihongi,' *Trans. and Proc. of Japan Society*, Suppl. I., London, 1896; D. Brauns, *Jap. Märchen und Sagen*, Leipzig, 1886; Bunyū Nanjō, *The Twelve Jap. Buddhist Sects*, Tokio, 1887; M. Anesaki, *Religious Hist. of Japan*, Tokio, 1897; H. Kern, 'The Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka,' *SBE* xli. Oxf. 1884; M. Müller, 'Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts,' *SBE* xlix. pt. ii. Oxf. 1894.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Persian).—The Persian tradition concerning an abode of the blest on earth has given rise to much confusion through its wide-spread interpretation as a Flood legend, an additional element of complication being the divergent theories regarding the original character of its hero, the Indo-Iranian Yama-Yima. In view of this confusion it seems best to give first, without comment, the data of the Avesta and Pahlavi literatures, then the spread of the belief to other religious systems and its possible parallel in Norse mythology, and finally to discuss the meaning of the legend.

I. Data of the Avesta, etc.—The earliest source for the Iranian legend of the abode of the blest on earth is the second part of *Vendidad* ii., which falls into two parts, 1-20 treating of Yima and his Golden Age, and 21-43 devoted to Yima's *vara*, or enclosure, which will here be considered as constituting the abode of the blest.

This chapter may be summarized as follows (cf. also the analysis on the basis of textual criticism and the tr. by Geldner in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxv. 179-192). Yima was the first of mortals, excepting Zoroaster, to whom Ahura Mazda taught his religion (1-2); but on his confession that he was 'neither formed nor learned to remember and to sustain the faith,' Ahura Mazda urged him 'to further creatures, to increase creatures, and be the protector, guardian, and overseer of creatures,' to all of which Yima agreed, declaring that 'in my kingdom there shall be neither cold wind nor hot, neither disease nor death' (3-6). In the first 300 years of Yima's reign 'the earth was full of cattle small and great, of men, and dogs, and birds, and fires red and blazing,' so that he was compelled to go further south and enlarge the earth by a third (8-11). In 600 years he was forced to enlarge the earth by two-thirds, and in 900 years by three-thirds, still proceeding southward (12-20). Here ends the first section of the chapter. In the second part, which here concerns us more immediately, Ahura Mazda and the 'spiritual angels' meet Yima and the 'best men' in the holy region of Airyanam Vaejō, which may perhaps be identified with Azarbaijan (Jackson, *Zoroaster*, New York, 1899, pp. 193-197),* and here the Deity warns Yima (21-24) of the coming of terrible winters (on the translation of this difficult passage see Bartholomae, *Zum altiran. Wörterb.*, Strassburg, 1906, p. 98 f.). Yima is accordingly commanded to

make a *vara* a *darvatu* (according to the tradition, 2 miles square, which should serve as an abode for men and cattle, and in which should be running water in a course a *hāstra* (according to the tradition, 1 mile) long, with birds along its banks. To this *vara*, moreover, should be taken the germs of cattle, human beings, dogs, birds, fires, all animals, all plants, and all foods, and these germs should be in pairs (*mišvatra*) and undecaying 'all the time that these men shall be in the *varas*' (*varəšta*, possibly, however, only a *plurale majestatis*); while no sort of deformity, disease, or iniquity should here be found (25-29). In the upper part of the *vara* were to be nine streets (*perəšta*), in the middle six, and in the lower three, the first containing 1000 germs of human beings, the second 600, and the lower 300; and the *vara* was also to have 'a shining door, having its own light on the inner side' (30) as well as 'houses, and a cellar, and a forecourt, and a bastian, and a circumvallation' (26). This *vara*, which was to be constructed by being 'stamped apart with the heels and dug asunder with the hands' (31), was accordingly made by Yima (32-38). The illumination of the *vara* was from 'lights self-determined and world-determined (i.e. eternal and transitory). Only once (each year) does one behold the setting and the rising stars, and moon, and sun; and they think that what is a year is (but) a day. When 40 years have elapsed, from two human beings are born two human beings, twins, both male and female; so (also) of them that are of animal kind. And these human beings, who are in the *vara* that Yima made, live with most happy life' (40-41). The religion of Ahura Mazda was brought to the *vara* by the bird Karshiptar (the spiritual lord of all birds and acquainted with speech; cf. *Bundahishn* xix. 18, xxiv. 11), and the temporal and spiritual lords are Urvata-nara (one of the three earthly sons of Zoroaster and the head of the agricultural class; cf. *Bundahishn* xxix. 5, xxxii. 5) and Zoroaster himself (42-43).

The remaining Avesta material of relevance in the present connexion adds little to the main source just summarized. Airyanam Vaejō is described as the first country created by Ahura Mazda (*Vendidad* i. 2), and in it, as a region pre-eminently holy, sacrifice was offered by Zoroaster (*Yast* v. 104-106, ix. 25-27, xvii. 45-47; see also Jackson, *loc. cit.*), and even by Ahura Mazda (*Yast* v. 17-19, xv. 2-4); and there are a number of allusions to the Golden Age of Yima's reign, though the first section of *Vendidad* ii. shows that this Golden Age is a tradition separate originally from that of the *vara*, to which it forms a *quasi*-prelude (see *Yama* ix. 4-5; *Yast* ix. 8-11, xv. 15-16, xvii. 28-31, xix. 32-33; *Aogemadaēdā*, 94-95; cf. also the Pahlavi *Jāmāspī-Nāmak*, ed. and tr. Modi, Bombay, 1903, p. 113 f.).

The Pahlavi literature adds considerable information to our knowledge of the Persian abode of the blest on earth. The account given in *Vendidad* ii. is summed up briefly in *Dinkart* vii. i. 20-24. *Bundahishn* xxix. 14, states that '[the enclosure] formed by Yim is in the middle of Pārs, in Sruvā; thus, they say that what Yim formed is below Mount Yimakān' (see West, *SBE* v. 120, note 5, and Justi, *Bundehesh*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 143); but *Dinā-ī Mānōg-ī Khrat* lxvi. 15-19, says that 'the enclosure formed by Yim is constructed in Airān-vējō, below the earth'* (so also *Bundahishn* xxxii. 5, and the Persian *Rivāyat*, ed. and tr. Sachau, *JRAS*, 1868, p. 229 ff., esp. p. 253), adding that there men lived 300 years. The same treatise describes the blessedness of Airyanam Vaejō (xxiv. 17-35), where, despite the evils of many serpents and ten months of winter, men live 300 years, with one child every 40 years, keeping the primitive faith, and virtuous.

The real *cruz* in the interpretation of the *vara* is constituted by the passages *Dāstān-ī Dēnik* xxxvii. 94-95; *Dinā-ī Mānōg-ī Khrat* xxxvii. 27-31; *Bahman Yast* iii. 55 (and its Persian paraphrase; cf. West, *SBE* v. p. lix); *Dinkart* vii. ix. 1-4, and *Jāmāspī-Nāmak*, tr. Modi, p. 118.

The most complete of these passages, with which all the rest agree, is *Dāstān-ī Dēnik* xxxvii. 94-95 (tr. West, *SBE* xviii. 109 f.): 'One (of the proofs of the ultimate triumph of Ahura Mazda over Ahriman) is this, that is, even that prodigious devastation of which it is declared that it happens through the rain of Malkōsh, when, through snow, immoderate cold, and the unproductiveness of the world, most mortals die; and even

* Airyanam Vaejō is also identified by Darmesteter (*Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892-93, ii. 5-6) with Arrān, the modern Karabagh in Trans-Caucasia, and by Marquart (*Eränkahr*, Berlin, 1901, p. 156) with Chorasmia; but, as Bartholomae very pertinently remarks (*Altiran. Wörterb.*, Strassburg, 1906, col. 1514), 'es ist nicht zu bestimmen, wohin man es verlegt hat.'

* West (*SBE* xxiv. 109, note 5) takes this to imply 'that its position could no longer be discovered on earth.' The passage *Vendidad* ii. 51-52 should, however, be considered in this connexion.

the things attainable by mortals are attended with threatenings of scarcity. Afterwards—as among the all-wise, preconcerted remedies of the beneficent spirit such a remedy was established that there is one of the species of lands that is called “the enclosure formed by Yim,” through which, by orders issued by Yim, the splendid and rich in flocks, the son of Vivangha, the world is again filled—men of the best races, animals of good breeds, the loftiest trees, and most savoury foods, in that manner came back miraculously for the restoration of the world; which new men are substituted for the former created beings, which is an upraising of the dead.’

The tables of Zoroastrian chronology drawn up by West SBE xlvii. 28–31) show that the accession of Yima took place *anno ante religionem* 2717–2347 A.C., that he was slain *anno ante religionem* 2000–2630 A.C., and that the winter of Malkobeh (Avesta *Mahrkūš*) was to take place in the century *anno religionis* 1400–1600 = A.D. 770–870, so that the *vara* of Yima would have lasted over 3500 years.

2. In other religious systems.—The legend of Yima's *vara* was borrowed by Mandæaniam, and has also been claimed to exist in Judæo-Christian apocalyptic literature. In the former system, according to oral traditions collected by Petermann and Siouffi (Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 154), the earth, after the depopulating catastrophes of the end of the world, will be re-peopled from *מִן הַמַּיִם*, a mysterious and invisible, but transitory, locality upon the earth, where dwell perfectly righteous, religious, and happy men who die without pain. Other sources locate this mystic world either beyond the northern mountain range, or, as in the scanty and late allusions in the *Genēz* (r. 29, 18; 302, 18; 338 ult. –339, 5), regard it as floating in the clouds (Brandt, *op. cit.* pp. 37 f., 53, 60 f.). In this Mandæan *מִן הַמַּיִם* Brandt (*op. cit.* p. 154) sees, probably rightly, a reminiscence of Yima's *vara*. As regards the Judæo-Christian borrowing, it will be sufficient to refer to Böhlen, *Vervandtschaft der jüd.-christl. mit der pers. Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1902, pp. 136–144, who mentions Commodian's *Instructions*, II. i. 20 ff., and *Carmen apologeticum*, 941 ff., the *Narratio Zosimi*, ch. 10, as well as the *Æthiopic Conflicts of the Holy Apostles*, even though it seems to the present writer that the resemblances here noted by Böhlen are too general in character, and too near akin to what would naturally occur to one describing a place of ideal bliss, to be positively claimed as borrowed from Iranian belief. An analogue to the legend of Yima's *vara* has been sought, as common property of the Indo-Germanic peoples, by Rydberg (*Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr., London, 1906, pp. 306–390, esp. pp. 379–388) in Norse mythology. With the *vara* he compares the Norse *Jörð lifanda manna* ('earth of living men'), or *Öðinsakr* ('acre of the not-dead'), a land either subterranean or on the surface of the earth, but in either case almost impossible for living men to reach. In this realm, which was ruled by Gudmund (Mimir) and enclosed by bulwarks that no disease, death, or age could surmount, and where none could die, men lived many generations (cf. also Meyer, *German. Mythol.*, Berlin, 1891, pp. 126 f., 134 f.). Furthermore, the final cataclysm will be preceded by the *finbolvestr*, a three years' winter with no summer, during which Lif and Lifthrasir ('Life' and 'Immortality') conceal themselves in Hoddmimer's grove, whence, after all the rest of mankind have been destroyed, they will emerge and re-people the earth (Söderblom, *La Vie future d'après le mazdéisme*, Paris, 1901, pp. 204–221; de la Saussaye, *Religion of the Teutons*, 1902, p. 351 f.; see also below, p. 709 f.). While Christian elements have almost certainly been incorporated in this Norse account (de la Saussaye, *loc. cit.*; Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 163), and though it would be, in the present writer's opinion, a scarcely warranted assumption to suppose that the Norse and Iranian traditions form part of an Indo-Germanic religion, it may be, nevertheless, that the two legends of an earthly abode of the blest serve to illustrate each

other. Arising independently and under different conditions, they might yet be parallel in their psychological development.

The most important question of parallelism, however, is with India. Yima, as is well known, is an Indo-Iranian figure, finding his counterpart in the Indian Yama (cf. Spiegel, *Arische Periode*, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 243–256). The original nature of Yama has been the subject of much speculation (cf. the data and references in Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, pp. 171–174); but, in the writer's opinion, it may be regarded as admitting of little doubt that, whatever theosophical and even astro-mythological attributes were given him, he was, primarily, as the *Atharvaveda* (xviii. iii. 13) says, 'he who of mortals was the first to die' (*yo mamāra prathamō mārtyānām*). He is thus the king of the dead (*Rigveda*, ix. cxiii. 7 ff., x. 14), for whom 'may Yama there mete out abodes' (*trā yamaḥ sādānā te minotv*, x. xviii. 13), 'there' obviously being his realm in 'the inmost recess of the sky' (*avarodhanam divaḥ*, ix. xiii. 8). But this realm of 'King Yama' is not the *vara* of Yima, the one being celestial, and the other, as we have seen, terrestrial. The two have in common only the one point, that Yama-Yima is their king, the nexus evidently being that, to the Indian, Yama, as the first mortal, is king of all who later die; while, to the Iranian, Yima, as the primeval man, fittingly was king in the Golden Age, and so ruler of the abode of the blest as well.

The *vara* of Yima has, however, been brought into direct connexion with Indian legend by Re naud (*Mémoires sur l'Inde*, Paris, 1849, pp. 346–350), who identifies it with the mythical city of Yamakoṭi ('Yama's Castle'), mentioned in late Sanskrit astronomical works. This material is summarized by al-Biruni (*India*, tr. Sachau, London, 1888, l. 267 f.), who states, on the basis of the Hindu astronomers, that 'in the four cardinal directions with relation to this line [which divides the earth into dry and wet halves] there are four great cities: Yamakoṭi in the east, Romaka (Rūm, Byzantium) in the west, Laṭkā (usually identified with Ceylon) in the south, Siddhapura [a mythical "City of the Blest"] in the north. . . . When the sun rises over the line which passes both through Meru and Laṭkā, that moment is noon to Yamakoṭi, midnight to the Greeks, and evening to Siddhapura. . . . A man in Yamakoṭi observes one identical star rising above the western horizon, whilst a man in Rūm at the same time observes it rising above the eastern horizon.' Yamakoṭi is the antipodal point to Rūm (ib. pp. 272, 303), and 'is,' according to Ya'qub and al-Fazari, 'the country where is the city Tāra [Re naud would read

Bārāh (= Vāra) for Tārāh, i.e. تَارَد for تَارَد] within a sea. . . . As koṭi means "castle" and Yama is the angel of death, the word reminds me of Kangdis, which, according to the Persians, had been built by Kai Kā'ūs or Jam (Yima) in the most remote east, behind the sea. . . . for *dis* means in Persian "castle," as koṭi in the Indian language' (ib., p. 303 f.). Kangdis (the Kanha of Yašt v. 54) is, however, distinctly described as separate from Airān-vēš, so closely associated with the *vara* (*Bundahish* xxix. 41, xxxii. 5; *Dīnā-ī Mānōg-i Kīra* xl. 12–15; *Sad Dar* x. 7), and as 'in the direction of the east, at many leagues from the bed of the wide-formed ocean towards that side' (*Bundahish* xxix. 10). Hyde (*Hist. religionis veterum Persarum*, Oxford, 1700, p. 173) records, from a manuscript of the *Almagest*, a mythical city of Jamgard ('City of Yama-Yima') on the equator to the extreme east; and Abul Fidā describes Jamkūt, or, as the Persians called it, Jamgard, as on the equator, to the extreme east, and antipodal to the (classical) Islands of the Blest (Re naud, p. 350). Yamakoṭi seems to the present writer to be a specifically Indian development. At all events, the data do not appear to him to warrant any real connexion or kinship between Yamakoṭi and Yima's *vara*—the location is too different, the chronological difficulties in any hypothesis of connexion are too great, and the development of Yama and Yima in India and Iran is too divergent from the Indo-Iranian period onward to render plausible the theory of actual relationship of the two mythical places, which, after all, can no more be localized than can the 'seacoast of Bohemia.'

3. Meaning of the legend.—The view is widely current that the story of Yima and his *vara* is a legend of the Deluge—a theory defended with much learning by Kohut (*ZDMG* xxv. 61–68), Usener (*Die Sintflutsagen*, Bonn, 1899, pp. 208–212), Geldner (*Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, *loc. cit.*), Winternitz, ('*Flutsagen des Alterthums und der Naturvölker*,' in *Mittheilungen der anthropol. Gesellschaft in*

Wien, xxxi. 328 f.), Darmesteter (*op. cit.* ii. 19 f., iii. pp. lviii-lx), and Lindner ('Die iran. Flutsage,' in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 213-216). This hypothesis is untenable, as has been shown by Bishop Casartelli (*Philosophy of the Mazdayasnan Religion under the Sassanids*, Eng. tr., Bombay, 1889, p. 198 f.), and especially by Söderblom (*op. cit.* pp. 167-222, where will be found a rich collection of parallels and full citation of authorities on both sides). Not only is the *vara* of Yima eschatological in purpose, and existing for centuries, but certain other chosen heroes, as Windischmann observes (*Zoroastr. Studien*, Berlin, 1863, pp. 244-249), are also immortal on this earth (*Bundahishn* xxix. 5 f.), though their domains do not constitute, merely because of their personal immortality, any abode of the blest.

The Iranian legend of Yima, who is far more real than his Indian counterpart, is, in the present writer's opinion, more primitive than the Vedic view itself, even though the Iranian records are, in their present form, of a late period, probably a round millennium posterior to those portions of the *Rigveda* which deal with the apotheosized Yama. The Iranian tradition may also be of more than eschatological significance, for it would seem to be a blending of two *motifs*, the Golden Age and the Abode of the Blest, plus a migration tradition of distinct value. The first two *motifs* have already been sufficiently discussed, but a brief note may be appended on the story as a migration legend. Airyanam Vaejō, the scene of the Golden Age of Yima (see above, p. 702^b), was, despite its sanctity and beauty, a land where, as the *Vendidad* states (i. 3), 'there are ten winter months, two summer months. . . . There is the centre of winter, there the heart of winter.' From this region, according to *Vendidad* ii., Yima, after 600 years, was forced by increase of population to go southward, and to repeat the process after 900 years. This can be explained only as the southward migration of the Iranians (very probably, indeed, of the Indo-Iranians), and it would seem as though the tradition which locates the *vara* in 'the middle of Pārs' marks this place as the centre of the Iranian peoples when they ceased their wandering. At the same time Airyanam Vaejō was retained in memory as the realm of the Golden Age, and in it, by a transfer of thought which would not be unnatural, was localized the *vara*, the abode of the blest. The migration thus suggested would serve to confirm the theory, now so generally held, of the wandering of the Indo-Iranian stock from the early home of the Indo-Germanic races in Europe through Armenia into north-western Persia, and so south through the mountain passes leading to the Panjāb. This wandering, too, accounts for the fame of Yima as a builder of cities, among them Sārdi or Hāmādān, Ctesiphon, and the ruin still known as the Taht-i Jamshīd, or 'Throne of Jamshīd,' at Persepolis (Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 144; Windischmann, *op. cit.* p. 36; Mirkhond, *Hist. of the Early Kings of Persia*, tr. Shea, London, 1832, p. 104 f.; Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York, 1906, p. 310).

LITERATURE.—This has been given in detail in the article.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Semitic).—In the earliest period known to us the dead were all thought to go irrevocably into the under world, and to remain there perpetually. The life of the under world was most gloomy and unattractive, and it was shared alike by all, regardless of their conduct in this life. Among the Semites this view prevailed until within a century or two of the Christian era. While this conception was enter-

tained, the 'blest' were believed to be those happy primitive men who had lived in the Golden Age, when there was no sin or misery, and when the gods had been on familiar terms with men. Men had then dwelt in the abode of the gods.

The earliest literary expression of this view is found in Gn 2 and 3, a part of the J document (9th cent. B.C.). Some of the material of this document is, however, far older, and reflects as its still recognizable original the picture of a primitive Semitic oasis in Arabia. The garden is the oasis. It is known to be the dwelling of deity by the striking contrast between its luxurious vegetable life and the surrounding desert. The tree of knowledge and of life grows in its midst. This is the palm.* God comes and walks there as in a park; there man and woman dwell without labour or suffering. God, men, and animals form one primitive community, and each talks with the others. Men have not yet begun to beget children or to wear clothing. In other words, the state of blessedness here pictured is thought to be anterior to the dawn of civilization. There are many reasons for believing that this conception is a half-distorted recollection from primitive Semitic days. It corresponds with the main features of that primitive Semitic civilization in which a cult peculiarly Semitic was evolved. Traces of this cult are found in every Semitic nation.† Some of the conceptions of this primitive paradise are also traceable in widely separated Semitic sources. The conceptions just described are found in the earlier stratum of the Biblical story (for there are two strata, one by J¹ and the other by J²). This older stratum consists of Gn 2^{4b-25} 15-25 31-32. 21. 22. In this form of the narrative there was but one tree, and the only indication in this portion that the story had anything to do with Babylonia is the fact that the garden is called 'Eden,' a word evidently identical with *edennu*, the Bab. word for alluvial plain. In the portion afterward added by J² (Gn 2¹⁰⁻¹⁴ 3²²⁻²⁴), the garden is definitely located in the region of Babylonia by the mention of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.‡

Although the Babylonian literature thus far recovered contains no complete story parallel to this one, many of the elements of this narrative are found in Bab. poetry and art. Thus in the Gilgamesh epic there is a story of a primitive man, Eabani, who was made, like Adam, of a bit of earth or clay, and who lived a primitive life, without clothing, among the animals until he was enticed away by a woman (cf. *KB* vi. 121-129). The palm as the sacred tree appears in various forms, sometimes naturally drawn, and sometimes greatly conventionalized, in all periods of Bab. and Assyr. art, from archaic seals to late palace decorations. From Eridu, where there was a sacred palm tree, comes the story of Adapa, who was defrauded of food which would have made him like a god (cf. *KB* vi. 93-101). The cherubim, which in Genesis guard the entrance to Eden, have their counterpart in the winged lion and bull deities which in Mesopotamia guarded the entrance to palaces and temples. It is clear, therefore, that the elements of this primitive story were known in Babylonia. Perhaps the original story reached the Hebrews by way of that country,

* See Barton, *Semitic Origins*, 92-96.

† See Barton, *op. cit.* chs. iii.-vii.

‡ As to the identity of Gihon and Pison, views diverge. Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?*) identified these with two canals, one of which was near Babylon, holding that Cush was the Kassite country to the east of the Persian Gulf. Haupt (*Ueber Land und Meer*, 1894-1896, No. 15) identified the Pison with the Red Sea and the Gihon with the Nile, regarding Cush as Nubia. Hommel (*Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, 239-240) identifies all the rivers except the Euphrates with wadis in Arabia. Gunkel holds all the rivers to be heavenly rivers suggested by the Milky Way (*Genesis*, p. 33).

for the primitive oasis is changed into a garden, the name of which is Babylonian.

It seems that a form of this story was naturalized at Tyre—a form in which Tyre, or the temple there, was regarded as Paradise. Our witness to this is the prophet Ezekiel (28¹²⁻¹⁷ 31⁸⁻⁹). As the story was preserved in Tyre, or at least as Ezekiel conceived it, Paradise was a garden, but it was situated on a mountain. Its tree was no longer a palm, but a cedar. In this garden were many precious stones, and, if we may connect with it Ezekiel's description of a holy mountain in ch. 47, a river flowed out of it. Ezekiel's picture modifies the primitive conception of the oasis still more than does the account in Genesis. It corresponds strikingly to the description of the sacred abode of Humbaba, the god of Elam, in the fifth tablet of the Gilgamesh epic. In connexion with that was a grove of sacred cedars. Out of the mountain on which it was situated a sacred river ran, and here divine voices were heard (cf. *KB* vi. 437, 441, 573). Cuneiform inscriptions recovered at Susa in recent years show that the sign for cedar tree was there a part of their deity's name. Probably this portion of the epic, or the story which lies behind it, had influenced the Tyrian conception of Paradise. This primitive paradise was thought by both Babylonians and Hebrews to have been lost by the dawn of civilization. In Genesis a serpent tempted woman to eat the fruit of the sacred tree, and she effectually tempted man. The motive is that they may become like gods, knowing good and evil. 'Knowing good and evil' in Dt 1⁸ is equivalent to having reached the age of puberty. The result of the sinful act of Adam and Eve is that they perceive that they are naked, i.e. become conscious of sex. Clothing is invented, and child-bearing begins.* It is clear, therefore, that this story connected the loss of the Golden Age with the dawning of the consciousness of sex. The Midrash Rabba, *Genesis*, § 20, holds that the serpent was an emblem of the sexual passion. Their sacred tree, the palm, was also bi-sexual, and its fertilization was a sacred act.† Whether the serpent and the tree were or were not consciously used because of symbolic significance, one element in the Biblical story—and it is the most important element—was the idea that primitive paradise was lost by the union of man and woman.‡ The story of Eabani, quoted above, shows that this conception was present in Babylonia also. Probably, therefore, this was the primitive Semitic view.

In Babylonia there was also another conception of the abode of the blest. It is found in a document much older than the J narrative, but it is culturally of a later origin than the story of Paradise. According to this conception the abode of the gods is an island in the sea. On this island Par-napishtim, the hero of the Bab. deluge, and his wife had been admitted to dwell, and thither Gilgamesh was permitted to make a journey, from which he returned. The road to this island was a long journey, in the course of which one came to a great pass in the mountains of *Mashu*. This was guarded by scorpion-men. After this pass came a long road of midnight darkness. At last one came out to a 'park of precious stones,' after which a bitter river had to be crossed. Next came

the 'waters of death,' beyond which the divine island lay (*KB* vi. 211-229). It was formerly thought that the *Mashu* mountains were to be looked for in Arabia, as was the 'park of precious stones,' that the 'bitter river' was the Persian Gulf, that the 'waters of death' were the Arabian sea, and that the happy isle lay to the south-east of Babylonia (cf. *KB* vi. 467, 469, 473). Jensen, however, has proposed a different view. He now holds that the mountains of *Mashu* were the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges; that the 'park of precious stones' was on the Phœnician coast; the Mediterranean was the 'bitter river'; the 'waters of death' lay to the westward of the Straits of Gibraltar; and the abode of the gods was in the Atlantic Ocean (cf. *KB* vi. 575 ff. and *Gilgamesh-Epos in der Weltliteratur*, i. 24, 34, and Map ii.). This view has been accepted by Zimmern (*KAT*² 573 ff.). One strong reason in Jensen's mind for this view is his belief that the Gilgamesh epic is based on a sun myth, and the sun travels from east to west. Gilgamesh was told, it is true, when he was desirous of crossing the dreadful waters, that only Shamash (the sun) crossed them. In favour of Jensen's view, too, is the fact that Ezekiel speaks of a garden in which are precious stones at Tyre. This would correspond to Jensen's location of the 'park of precious stones.' The conception of the abode of the blest just outlined is intermediate between that embodied in the story of the Garden of Eden and that which is described below. The story of primitive Paradise held that man once had a blest abode with the gods on earth, but had lost it. The Par-napishtim and Gilgamesh stories hold that it is still possible that one or two ancient heroes may have attained the happy isle, and found a blest abode with the gods.

A third view as to the abode of the blest on earth developed among the Jews in the two centuries before Christ, in connexion with the Messianic hope. It was believed that the Messianic kingdom would be established, but the living Israelites to enjoy it were but few in comparison with the great host that had died. The author of Is 26, therefore, writing about B.C. 334, declared that departed Israelites should be raised from Sheol (Is 26¹⁹) to share in this kingdom. This reversed the time-honoured conception with reference to the dead, and was by no means universally accepted, as Ps 88¹⁰ and 115¹⁷ show. It was, however, accepted by the author of Enoch 1-36, who wrote B.C. 200-170, and who thought that dead Israelites would be raised to enjoy a Messianic kingdom of peace and justice. This kingdom on the earth would in itself be an abode of the blest. Its capital was to be at Jerusalem (25⁵). Those who attained it would enjoy lives like the patriarchs (25⁶), or everlasting lives (5⁹), though 'everlasting' is elsewhere defined as five hundred years (10¹⁰). (For later conceptions of the Messianic kingdom as an abode of the blest on earth, see MESSIAH and KINGDOM OF GOD.)

When the Messianic kingdom would come, however, was uncertain, and this writer accordingly conceived of another earthly abode for the blest until the resurrection should occur. In ch. 22 he gives an extended description of the under world. This he pictures as divided into four parts. One of these is for the very wicked, another for the less wicked, another for the good, and the last for the supremely good. There are thus thought to be two subterranean abodes of the blest in Sheol. All these dead, except the very wicked, are to be raised. Sheol is but a temporary abode for all except the most desperate; but while there the good enter in some degree upon their delights, and the wicked upon their torments. Although this elaborate

* See Jastrow, 'Adam and Eve in Babylonian Literature,' *AJS* xv. 193-214; Barton, *Semitic Origins*, 93 ff.; and Whatham, 'The Outward Form of the Original Sin,' *Amer. Jour. of Rel. Psychology*, i. 228-237.

† Barton, *op. cit.* 78 ff., 92 ff.

‡ The word 'Paradise,' by which Eden is frequently called, is of Iranian origin. In Avesta it is *pairi-daeza*, 'encircling wall' (Vend. iii. 18). It passed into Neo-Babylonian, Aramaic, post-Exilic Hebrew, Neo-Hebrew, Armenian, Persian, Kurdish, Greek, and Arabic as a word for a park or splendid garden. In the OT it is found in Neh 2⁸, Ca 4¹³, Ec 2⁵.

division of the under world into four parts is found in no later writer, the conception that the righteous, while waiting there, entered upon their anticipated enjoyments, appears in at least one later apocalypse (cf. 4 Ezr 7⁷⁵⁻¹²¹).^{*} This abode of the blest was, however, temporary; they occupied it only while awaiting the resurrection. In later Judaism, the abode of the blest is thought to be in a Messianic kingdom of so supernatural a character that it can hardly be called earthly, and it is often thought to be in heaven, while in the Qur'an Paradise has become altogether heavenly. The conceptions of the Jewish heavenly abode combine elements from the earthly Garden of Eden with elements taken from the sacred city, Jerusalem, while the Muhammadan Paradise is a transfigured oasis.

Amid the tangle of conceptions met with in Egypt, where myths from the different nomes mingled inextricably after having kept their separate existence for many centuries, four conceptions as to the abode of the blest can be traced. None of these preserves, like the primitive Semitic story of Paradise, the memory of a far-off oasis. The people of each nome seem to have thought that their god created the world and mankind, and all thought of man as having always lived by the Nile (cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 156 ff., and Steindorff, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, 35 ff.). In Egypt, however, there was thought to have been a Golden Age, when the gods lived on familiar terms with men, and men were happy and blest. This age of gods and demi-gods corresponds in general to the Semitic traditions of Paradise. Two other conceptions place that abode of the blest on earth, while the third puts it in the heavens. We are concerned here only with the earthly abodes.

According to the earliest of these, the dead lived in the cemeteries, which were for the most part on the edge of the desert to the west of the Nile, and were veritable cities of the dead. There they formed communities by themselves, each ruled over by a special spirit or deity. Life here was lived under the same conditions and the same form as life in the land of the living. Each needed his body, which was preserved by mummifying, and each needed food, drink, and the various utensils which had been of use in life. Death had, however, petrified all—the child remained a child; the man, a man; the greybeard, a greybeard. The same organization existed there which existed among the living—the man ruled the wife, was served by servants, performed the same duties and engaged in the same recreations as when alive. For the most part the dead remained in the narrow confines of their own city, but by day they might leave their narrow house to roam over the earth. They were then subject to the same dangers of attack from enemies, poisonous snakes, scorpions, and crocodiles as when alive. The dead grudged the living their happiness, and at times came back to interfere with them. Their great opportunity was sickness, when special charms were needed to ward off their influence.[†]

This conception made no distinction between the good and the wicked dead. It regarded all as going to one place. It corresponds with the non-ethical conception of the early Semites, except that the abode of the dead was placed in the western desert instead of in the under world. Another Egyptian conception, also non-ethical, regarded the abode of the dead as in the under world. Beneath the flat earth lay another region called *Duat*. By day this region was dark and

gloomy; but at night, when the sun had set upon the earth, this nether land was illuminated by its rays. Like Egypt, it was characterized by the flowing of a long river through its midst, on either bank of which were deep caverns in which the dead dwelt. When the sun arrived in this land at night, there was thought to be great rejoicing. 'The departed who are in their halls, in their caverns, praise the sun; their eyes are opened, their heart is full of felicity when they behold the sun; they shout for joy when his body is over them.'^{*} It was only as the Osiris myth transformed early Egyptian ideas of eschatology that an ethical element was introduced, and an abode of the blest, as distinguished from the wicked, was conceived. The idea of its location was, however, indistinct. It was sometimes placed vaguely in the West, but was more often thought to be in heaven.

See also STATE OF THE DEAD (Egyptian).

LITERATURE.—Friedrich Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig, 1881; Toy, 'Analysis of Genesis ii. and iii.' in *JBL* x. [1891] 1 ff.; W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Semites*, 1894, p. 307; Haupt, 'Wo lag das Paradies?', in *Ueber Land und Meer*, 1894-1896; Jastrow, 'Adam and Eve in Bab. Literature,' in *AJS*, 1890, xv. 191 ff.; Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious*, 1902, pp. 93-98; Bevan, 'The King of Tyre in Ezekiel xxviii,' in *JTS* iv. [1903] 500 ff.; Jensen, 'Assyr. Bab. Mythen und Epen,' in Schrader's *KB*, vol. vi., 1900-1901; Zimmern in *KAT*, 1902, p. 527 ff.; Salmond in *Hastings' DB* iii. 668 ff.; Cheyne in *EB* col. 3569-3583; Barton, Binsstein, and Montgomery in *JE* ix. 515-520; R. H. Charles, *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, London, 1899, pp. 184 ff., 294 ff.; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 190-206; Erman, *Agypt. Religion*, Berlin, 1906, pp. 90-106; Steindorff, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, New York, 1906, pp. 115-137; Jensen, *Das Götterbuch des alten Ägypten*, I., Strassburg, 1906; Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 1909, pp. 68-69.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Slavonic).—The ideas of the pagan Slavs concerning the state of the dead are known to us only from indirect testimony and from the evidence of surviving folk-belief. While some mediæval chroniclers deny that the Slavs had any conception of a future life (which is unlikely), others freely assert it, and there is no reason to doubt the existence of definite beliefs on the subject (see Schafarik, *Slav. Alterthümer*, Leipzig, 1843, i. 538; ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Slavonic]). Three existing words denote the abode of the dead—*Nav*, *Raj*, and *Peklo*. The two last now denote heaven and hell respectively, but *Raj* evidently denoted originally a pagan paradise. *Nav* denotes the place of the dead in one chronicler, who says that 'Krok went into the *Nav*,' while the god of the dead, or Pluto, is called *Nya* by the Polish chronicler Dlugosz, who says that the people ask him to carry them after death 'in meliores inferni sedes.' *Nav* may have denoted the abode of the dead in its general aspect. *Peklo*, though it now means hell, seems originally to have denoted a subterranean place of warmth. *Raj* is still known as the eastern home of the sun beyond the ocean, perhaps an island, where the souls of little children dwell, playing among the trees and gathering golden fruits. Spirits not yet embodied and spirits after their disembodiment also live there. It is the place where birds and insects go in autumn, and there are stored the types and seeds of all things on earth. No winter or cold winds are known there. These are the reflexion of earlier pagan ideas of paradise. Folk-belief also speaks of the *Iale Buyan*, itself synonymous with *Raj*. It also is the home of the sun, as well as of the mythological personifications of nature powers, of mythical animals, e.g. the snake older than all snakes, and of the divine maiden Zaryā, who sits under a dripping oak. Here is also the magic stone *Alatau*, referred to in many charms, from beneath which flow mystic rivers with healing powers. A

^{*} See also R. H. Charles, *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, p. 296.

[†] See Steindorff, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 116 ff.

^{*} See Steindorff, *op. cit.* p. 126 ff.

sacred city hidden beneath deep waters, reached by 'Baty's road,' and inhabited by the Holy Elders (the dead), is spoken of.

But there must also have existed ideas of a mountain abode of the dead or a heavenly paradise reached by a mountain of glass or iron, difficult to climb. The nail-clippings of the dead man, or bear's claws, were buried with him to enable him to climb it. Among the Poles exists the belief that lost souls must climb it as a punishment; when they have reached the summit, they slip down again (Grimm, ii. 836). According to some forms of this myth, the glass mountain crowned with a golden palace stands in the midst of a great orchard in the paradise of souls, and they ascend it by means of the bear's claws (Mannhardt, *Germ. Mythen*, Berlin, 1858, p. 330). The mountain recurs in Slavonic and other European folk-tales, in which the hero rescues a princess, or gains the hand of a fair being from its summit (*CF*, p. 442).

Certain folk-tales, peculiar to the Slavs, speak of a mysterious land above the sky, wherein dwell beings or animals of supernatural character and magic power, while in this land are great wealth, many magical objects, and abundance of food. Thus one story describes it as possessing a mill which gives out pie, cake, and a pot of stewed grain; another, a hut with walls of pancakes, benches of white bread, and a stove of buttered curds. In another the stove is garnished with sucking pigs, geese, and pies, and everything which the soul can desire. This sky-land is visited by mortals who climb up a magical bean- or pea-stalk, or a great oak, as in our Jack and the Bean-stalk tales, and generally the visit is resented (Ralston, *Russ. Folk-Tales*, London, 1873, p. 291 ff.; *CF*, p. 435). This upper world of riches and plenty is not said to be an abode of the dead, but the tales may have been derived from pagan conceptions of an Elysium in the sky, where the gods and the blessed dwelt. This is also suggested by the belief, still current, that the soul must make a journey after death, across the sea, on foot, or by the rainbow or the Milky Way, to the region of the dead. The two last are obvious survivals from pagan beliefs regarding a journey to a heavenly paradise.

Rites in honour of the dead, still in use, include chants of a purely pagan character, in which the souls, having eaten and drunk, are begged to return to heaven. In pagan times the burial rites were all-important, as, until they were completed, the dead could not start on their long journey. Existing funeral songs and tales show that the beliefs regarding the state of the dead were of different character, or were perhaps held simultaneously. The dead continue to dwell in the grave (an idea which passes over into the vampire belief [see *VAMPIRE*]), or wander round their old home, or exist in a separate region. But, whatever beliefs were held, the state of the dead was apparently of a sensuous character. Married people continued to dwell together, and to a dead bachelor a maiden was allotted to be his wife in the other world. In such a case she was formerly put to death (*cf.* Schrader, *Totenhochzeit*, Jena, 1904, and see above, p. 22 f.).

The belief in a happy eastern region of perpetual warmth and light beyond the ocean in the place whence the sun came was widely current among the Slavs. Such a belief is still found; and this region is sometimes thought to be tenanted by the Rakhmane, who abstained from flesh, and led a holy life. The Rakhmane are obviously the Brahmins, and the traditions may be derived from apocryphal writings.

LITERATURE.—W. R. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, London, 1872; L. Leger, 'Études sur la Mythologie slave,' *RHR* xlii. 1 ff., Paris, 1900; La *Mythologie slave*, Paris, 1901; de la Saussaye, *Lehrb. der Religionsgesch.* 2 ii. 583, Tübingen, 1906.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Teutonic).—

1. Introduction.—The hints supplied by myth, folk-belief, and occasional passages of existing texts, suggest that, in earlier times and probably for a long period, the state of the dead was not definitely formulated in Teutonic belief. The funeral *mobiliæ* as well as statements in the texts regarding burial shows that life after death continued the life on earth. The dead may have been supposed to dwell in the tomb, and the soul to flit in the air or to frequent the grave, while souls of warriors continued to fight in the air. Conceptions of a more permanent sort may, however, have arisen quite early and ultimately gained ground. When the dead were committed to the waves, this suggests that their abode was over-sea, and the passage in Procopius (*de Bello Goth.* iv. 20) about fishermen, subject to the Franks, rowing souls over by night to Brittia, may be a reminiscence of such a belief. But we find also a more general belief in the dead living in their barrows or burial-mounds, or in hills—they 'die into the hills.' There they feast in happiness, and occupy themselves with the good of their surviving kindred, and their presence in these howes, or hills, is a source of blessing to the neighbourhood (Vigfusson and Powell, *Corpus Poet. Boreale* [= *CPB*], Oxford, 1883, i. 415 ff.). Nor is it unlikely that some of the gods, *e.g.* Odin, had also their abode at first there, several mountains being sacred to Odin (Grimm, i. 152). Odin was especially the god of dead warriors, and their abode may at first have been with him in hills, since later tradition represents great heroes as slumbering in hills, sometimes, as in the case of King Charles, in the Odenberg, with Odin (Grimm, iii. 953 ff.). These heroes may represent the dead warriors of pagan belief, or the gods themselves considered as mountain-dwellers. Again, the souls of dead warriors are seen issuing from and returning to a mountain (*ib.* 954). Thus the warrior host in the mountain may be an earlier form of the warrior host in the heavenly Valhalla (Simrock, *Handb.* 189).

In the Elder and Younger Eddas the conceptions of Hel, the under world of the dead, and Valhalla, the warriors' heavenly abode, are met with. Both may have been developed from the belief that the dead lived a subterranean existence in the barrow or in hills. Hel, 'the hollow place,' would be an extension of the hollow hill or barrow, and a similar development of the under world from the grave is met with in Celtic belief (see *CELTS*), while the transition from a hill as the abode of warriors to a sky-Valhalla would easily be made, the sky being frequently supposed to rest on hills.

Vigfusson and Powell consider that the idea of Hel as the abode of the dead cannot be clearly reconciled with the early belief in the dead living in their barrows (*CPB* i. 420). Rydberg (*Teut. Mythol.*, London, 1889, p. 506) reconciles the two views by showing that, in Teutonic belief, man did not consist simply of body and soul, but of 'a combination of factors, which in death could be separated,' so that the dead could at the same time descend to Hel and inhabit the grave-mound. This is in accordance with primitive and even Egyptian ideas of man's personality, and of various regions or states for the different parts of his being after death. At the same time, the ideas of the barrow and of Hel seem rather to represent different strata of belief.

The subterranean region of Hel may at first have been considered as the abode of all the dead, not excluding warriors, even Balder going there when he was slain, and, as late as Widukind of Corvei, the poet exclaims after a battle, 'Where might there be a Hel so great as to contain such a multitude of the slain?' (Grimm, ii. 801). But side by side with this we find the idea, whether of later Viking origin or not, that warriors have a separate abode. They it was, perhaps, rather than all the dead, who were conceived as dwelling with Odin in the hill, or, as in the Edda, in the heavenly Valhalla.

2. Was Hel an abode of the blest?—Hel is usually

regarded as a dismal and gloomy abode; but it is only in the Younger Edda that this is definitely stated, and it is not improbable that the influence of Christian beliefs may be traced here. The references in this Edda are three in number, and they vary each from the other. All-father has given to man a soul which will live and never perish. Right-minded men will live with him in Vingólf; wicked men fare to Hel, and thence into Nifhel which is beneath in the ninth world (*Gylfaginning*, § 3). Vingólf is later described as the fair hall of goddesses, and it may be synonymous with Valhalla (§ 14; Grimm, ii. 820). Here the distinction is an ethical one, and Nifhel rather than Hel is the abode of the wicked. This corresponds, on the whole, with the description of the fate of men after the final catastrophe:

'Many abodes are there then good, and many bad: best is it to be in Gimlé in heaven with Surt; and great store of good drink is there for them who drink with joy in the hall called Brimir; it stands also in heaven. That is also a good hall which stands on Niftha-fells wrought of red gold; it is called Sindri; in this hall shall abide good men and well-minded.' The wicked—murderers and perjurers—suffer fearful torments in Ná-strand (*Gylf.* § 53).

This description is borrowed from the *Völuspá*, where it is not clear whether it refers to a state of things after the catastrophe which two mysterious beings alone survive. The sibyl sings:

'I see a hall, brighter than the sun, shingled with gold, standing on Gimlé. The righteous shall dwell therein and live in bliss for ever. Northward on Nifavöllir stands a hall of gold for Sindri's people. On Okolnir stands another called Brimir, the giants' drinking-hall.' Ná-strand is here also the abode of the wicked (*CPB* i. 201; cf. ii. 627).

The third reference describes the goddess Hel as cast into Nifheim, with power over the nine worlds, and sharing those abodes of gloom and hunger with those who die of sickness or old age. Warriors, on the other hand, go to the blissful Valhalla (*Gylf.* § 34, 36 ff.). Here there is no ethical distinction.

The eschatological system set forth in *Völuspá* depends for its value on the views taken regarding that poem. Bugge's hypothesis of its dependence on Christian and classical sources is hardly tenable (*Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns oprindelse*, tr. by Brenner, Munich, 1889). More probable is the view taken by Jónsson (*Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, Copenhagen, 1894, 1901), that it is the product of a pagan poet using pagan myths, but, while combating Christianity, unconsciously writing under Christian influences. The better minds among the pagan Norse may already have felt their way to such eschatological ideas as he sets forth.

In the Elder Edda, *Vafthrúdnis-mál* and *Grímnis-mál* (*CPB* i. 67, 70) describe Valhalla, and the former says of Nifhel: 'hither die the men from Hel (a second death).' Thus Hel is not a place of punishment, though Nifhel may be. Nor is Hel definitely stated in the Elder Edda to be a place of gloom. Ná-strand and Nifhel, places of punishment, may thus be identical, and it is not impossible that the Younger Edda has confused Hel and Nifhel, while here and in the *Völuspá* Gimlé and the other halls of the righteous may be identical either with Valhalla or with Hel, considered as a place of bliss. In *Balder's Doom*, Odin rides through the under world along a road through grass-grown plains to the mighty hall of Hel, and finds there the walls decked with shields, the benches strewn with mail-coats, and the mead standing ready brewed for the hero (*CPB* i. 182). Nothing is said of the gloom of Hel here, or in the story of Hermóðr's visit there to rescue Balder, where he crosses a river over a golden bridge (*Gylf.* § 49). Again, since men die from Hel to Nifhel, it is obvious that the former is a better place than the latter. Nifhel is the Hel which is surrounded by fog and gloom; Hel itself therefore cannot be so surrounded. In *Skirnir's mál*, Gerda is told that she will suffer misery within the Na-gates (corpse-gates), and will sit on Are's perch looking longingly Hel-wards (*CPB* i. 114)—a passage suggestive of Hel as a place of bliss. In *Sonatorrek* the poet describes his dead son as having

entered 'the path of Bliss' and gone to 'the City of the Bees-ship' (*CPB* i. 278-9), or to 'the world of the gods' (Goð-heim). The references are obscure, but may point to the usual abode of the dead or Hel.

An examination of the passages referring to the Ash Yggdrasil and its roots is significant. In *Grímnis-mál* it is said that under one root dwells Hel, under a second the Frost-giants, under a third 'mennzkir menn' (mortal men, *CPB* i. 73). But in *Gylfaginning*, § 15, one root is with the Asa, and there is Urd's fountain; one is over where Ginunnga-gap was, and there is Mimir's spring; the third is over Nifheim, and under it is the fountain Hvergelmir. By an obvious misunderstanding, one root is placed with the Asa, i.e. in Heaven (cf. Simrock, 36). But, as all the roots are in the under world, this root may correspond to that which *Grímnis.* places in Hel, and here in consequence is Urd's fountain, guarded by the Norni, who sprinkle the tree with its holy water (*Gylf.* § 16; cf. *Völuspá*, *CPB* i. 195), so that it may not wither or rot. Urd is possibly the equivalent of the goddess Hel (Rydberg, 308; Simrock, 340). The third root is in Nifheim, the place of punishment; the second, in Ginunnga-gap, must be midway between the others. Beneath it is Mimir's spring of mead, giving inspiration, wisdom, and poetry. Mimir drinks it every day; from it Odin obtained wisdom; and with it the root is watered (*Gylf.* § 15, *CPB* ii. 623). Here, too, must be placed Mimir's or Hóddmimer's Grove, where two human beings, Lif and Lífthrasir, are hidden away during the Monster-winter which precedes Ragnarök. They are fed on the dew which drip from Yggdrasil, produced from its being watered by Urd's fountain. They alone survive the final catastrophe, and from them a new generation will spring to re-people the renewed earth (*Vafthr.*, *CPB* i. 67; *Gylf.* § 53). Hence these, rather than men on the surface of the earth, may be the 'mennzkir menn' dwelling under a root of the tree. Lif and Lífthrasir, progenitors of the new race which is to people the new earth, 'green and fair, whose fields increase with sowing,' while 'all sorrows shall be healed,' must be pure and sinless. But that forest-clad earth rising out of the deep may simply be Mimir's grove, the hidden and sinless paradise hitherto in the under world.

Hel may thus mean the whole under world, exclusive of Nifhel, and in this sense it appears by no means as a place of gloom. This is already suggested by the passages cited from the poems; but when we add to this the facts that in the under world are Mimir's fountain of immortal mead, his grove of sinless beings, afterwards to be the glorious renewed earth, Urd's fountain beneath the ever-green branches of the ash, its waters 'so holy that everything which comes into this spring becomes as white as the skin which lieth within and cleaveth to the egg-shell' (*Gylf.* 16), and that the hall of Hel is decked for Balder's coming and furnished with mead, the suggestion becomes well-nigh a certainty.

To Urd's well the gods ride over Bifröst bridge to a daily judgment (*Gylf.* § 15; cf. *Grímnis.*, *CPB* i. 73). According to *Gylf.* they ride upwards from Asgard to Heaven; but as Asgard is in Heaven, and, as we have seen, Urd's well is situated in the under world, they must ride downwards. This Thingstead is not that held in Asgard, and Rydberg (p. 330 ff.) has shown that the gods come down daily to judge the dead who arrive there daily, and appoint them their places in Valhalla, in Hel, or in Nifhel. From definite statements, we know what crimes were punished in the other world—offences against the gods and against kinsmen, murder, adultery, perjury. Thus among those who did not pass to Valhalla—those dying a natural or straw death, practisers of the

peaceful arts of life, women and children, all who had pleased the gods, all who had been true to the claims of kindred, all who had kept themselves free from those gross sins—must have been awarded the bliss of the under world. All such could, 'with a good will and without fear, await death,' knowing that their course of life would 'do them good when they are dead' (*Sonatorrek*, CPB i. 280; cf. i. 42, 279, ii. 628; *Gylf.* [Loke] § 50, 52). To them were allotted the blissful regions of the under world—the 'green realms of the gods' (*Hakonar-mál*, CPB i. 264; cf. Rydberg, 319), with their hidden grove, their holy fountains, their 'paths of bliss.' Probably, too, they were given a draught which made them forget sorrows and gave them strength, composed of the liquids of those fountains, and drunk from the horn whence Mimir quaffed the mead of his well (CPB i. 197; cf. the mead which awaits Balder, and the 'costly draughts' which the dead Helgi drinks, i. 143). The mysteriously engraved horn from which Grimhild makes Gudrun drink and forget her wrongs, may be a late reminiscence of this draught of oblivion. The draught was composed from Urd's strength, ice-cold sea water, and the liquor of the Son, and on the horn are engraved unrequited corn ears from 'the land of Hadding,' the under world (CPB i. 34). See, for this section, Rydberg, 218 ff.

3. *Valhalla*.—Though Valhalla may be 'simply a Wicking faith, lasting some three generations at most,' and opposed to the strong family affection of the Northern heathen (CPB i. Introd. ci, 421), yet it is also noted in old Teutonic belief, in the conception of dead warriors dwelling in Odin's mountain. Valhalla was one of the dwellings of Asgard, the heaven of the gods, situated in Gladsheimr 'where the gold-bright Valhalla towers' (*Grimnis-mál*, CPB i. 70). To it all brave warriors hoped to go, though later tradition suggests that warriors who had committed 'nothing' actions or lived wickedly were excluded (Rydberg, 349). They were conducted thither by the Valkyries, who also waited upon them there. Valhalla was entirely a warrior's paradise; its beatitude was not that of peace, but of war. There the dead warriors dwelt with Odin, who welcomed them, ordering the benches to be got ready, the goblets prepared, and the wine brought by the Valkyries (*Éiriks-mál*, CPB i. 260). Descriptions of Valhalla are found in *Grimnis-mál* and in the Younger Edda. It is rafted with spears, it is decked with shields, its benches are strewn with coats of mail. A wolf hangs before the western door, an eagle hovers over it. The goat Heiðrun bites at the branches of the tree Lærad (perhaps Yggdrasil), and from her teats runs mead which fills a vat every day, enough to satisfy all the warriors. The hart Eikthirir bites at the branches, and from her horns fall drops which form the rivers on earth. So great was Valhalla that it possessed five hundred and forty doors. Every day the warriors, fully armed, issued from the gates to amuse themselves in combat with each other, returning to feast and drink heavenly mead from the cups presented to them by the Valkyries. They ate the flesh of the boar Sæhrimni, which was sodden every day and became whole again at even. Beside Valhalla stood Vín-gólf, the Hall of Friends, the abode of the goddesses. Grimm (ii. 820) points out that Vín-gólf is, in one poem, used synonymously with Valhalla, while it is also the name given in the Younger Edda (*Gylf.* § 3) to the place where the good and right-minded shall dwell after death. With Odin is associated Freyja, whose dwelling is called Folk-vangr, and who chooses one half of the slain, Odin the other. Elsewhere, however, it is dead women who expect to join Freyja (*Egils saga*, ch. 78). With the goddess Gefjon, who resembles Freyja, dwelt all who

died virgins (*Gylf.* § 35; for Valhalla, cf. § 36, 38 ff.; *Grimnis-mál*, *Éiriks-mál*, and *Hakonar-mál*, CPB i. 70 ff., 260, 262).

4. *Elysium in folk-belief and saga*.—The Glasberg, or glass mountain, of *Märchen* and poetry, which in Slavonic belief represents an earlier conception of a mountain paradise, may be derived from Slavonic sources, or may be a misunderstanding of *Gladsheim*, but it may also be a purely Teutonic belief, since the Norse *glærhiminn*, 'glass heaven,' is a paradise to which heroes ride (Grimm, ii. 820), and the mountain abode of the dead has already been met with. Beautiful subterranean meadows, reached through a well where Frau Holle dwells, also occur in *Märchen*, and are associated mainly with elves and kindred beings. Popular belief describes souls of the dying fluttering as butterflies or birds in these meadows (Grimm, ii. 829). These are doubtless reminiscences of the under world place of the dead, and with them may be compared the Rosengarten of mediæval poetry, now churchyards, now a kind of paradise. A series of more elaborate tales, analyzed by Rydberg, are certainly reminiscent of earlier pagan belief, and preserve many of the aspects of the under world already met with. In these travelers set out to seek *Óðáinsakr* or *Jörð lifanda manna*, the Land of Living Men, situated in one tale in the east, but more usually in the north, and apparently underground.

These tales in their present form belong to the period between the 12th and 14th cent., and are mainly found in Saxo and in the sagas. Gudmund is ruler of the Glittering Plains, situated in the north or Jötunheim; he and his men are heathen, and of a vast age. After his death he was worshipped by his people as a god. Óðáinsakr is situated in his land, and is 'so healthy that sickness and age depart, and no one ever dies there' (*Hervararsaga*, Rydberg, 210-11).

(a) In the Flaty-book (14th cent.) Helge Thoreson is described as journeying to the north, where, lost in a forest, he met twelve maidens, one of them being Gudmund's daughter, Ingeborg. With them he stayed three days, and on leaving was given chests of gold and silver. Next Yule night he was carried from his home by two men, re-appearing a year later with them. The strangers gave king Olaf two golden horns as a gift from Gudmund. They were filled with wine and given to the strangers to drink, the wine having been previously blessed by a bishop. The heathen messengers cast the horns away, and disappeared with Helge amidst great confusion. One year later Helge re-appeared with his eyes plucked out. He had spent many days happily in Gudmund's realm, but king Olaf's prayers had made it impossible for Gudmund and Ingeborg to keep him. The latter plucked his eyes out, lest any mortal maiden should fall in love with him (Saxo Grammaticus, *Danish History*, London, 1894, Introd. lxviii; Rydberg, 210).

(b) Saxo relates that king Gorm set out to seek a mysterious treasure land in the north ruled by king Geirröd in the under world. After passing through many dangers, they were met by Geirröd's brother Gudmund, who led them along a river till they reached a golden bridge. This he warned them not to cross, as the region beyond was not open to mortals. Continuing up the river, they reached Gudmund's hall, where, warned by their pilot Thorkill, they refused to touch food or drink lest their memory should be lost, and they should have to remain with Gudmund's people for ever. Gorm also refused Gudmund's daughter in marriage. But four of his men fell victims to the charms of the women of this land, and became imbeciles. Gorm also refused the delicious fruits of Gudmund's garden. The party were now conducted across the river, and reached Geirröd's realm, a foul and evil place, full of miserable folk, some of them punished by Thor. Finally, they reached a place where they saw cisterns of mead, a vast decorated horn, and other treasures. Some of the party seized these treasures, which changed to swords and serpents and slew them. In another place, other treasures, including a rich mantle, were seen. Thorkill himself seized the mantle, when the place rang with shrieks, and the party was attacked by its inhabitants. Only twenty of them returned to the river aid to Gudmund, who vainly tempted them to remain with him. They finally returned home in safety (Saxo, 844 ff.; Rydberg, 212).

(c) Saxo has also preserved the story of king Hadding. One winter's day he saw a woman rise out of the ground, with fresh herbs in her lap. Hadding desired to know where such plants could grow in winter. Wrapping him in her mantle, she drew him underground, through a region of fog and darkness, till they reached a river where spears and weapons were tossed about. On one side of it they met some noble beings, clad in rich robes.

Passing them, they reached a sunny region (the Glittering Plains), whence the woman had obtained the flowers. On the other side of the river, which was crossed by a bridge, were seen the souls of dead warriors playing at battle. Finally, they came to a mysterious place, surrounded by an impassable wall. This was the land of life. The woman wrung the neck of a bird and threw it over the wall, when it was at once restored to life (Saxo, 87; Rydberg, 216).

(d) A saga in Flatey-book tells of king Erik, who with a large company set out to seek Óðáinsakr in the far east. They finally reached a river, with a bridge guarded by a dragon. Erik and one of his men rushed at the dragon, and were swallowed by it. But they found themselves in a beautiful flowery plain, with rivers of honey, and full of sunlight. They travelled through, finding no inhabitants, and reached a tower suspended in the air, with a ladder leading up to it. They entered the tower, and found in it a room carpeted with velvet, a table with rich food in gold and silver dishes, and two beds. Convinced that they had reached Óðáinsakr, they ate and drank and slept. During his sleep Erik was visited by his guardian angel, who told him this was Óðáinsakr, or Jörd lifanda manna. This region lay near the Christian paradise, which was so glorious that, compared with it, Óðáinsakr seemed a desert. Here they were permitted to remain six days, and then they returned home.

Late as these stories are, they are yet so near to the pagan age of the north that, in spite of possible classical literary and Christian influences, they preserve much of the earlier eschatology. Óðáinsakr is clearly differentiated from the Christian paradise, while Gudmund and his people are pagan. The river with its golden bridge has already been met with in the pagan descriptions of the under world, and in these tales its further side seems to be tenanted by the souls of the dead, while in the Hadding story the dead warriors fighting suggest a reminiscence of Valhalla. The evil region in the story of Gorm may reflect the tortures of Nifhel, while the place with its cisterns of mead, the richly decorated horn, and the treasures, are reminiscent of the Eddaic descriptions of the blissful under world. Rydberg (228 ff.) also identifies Gudmund with Mimir, and shows reasons for believing that Óðáinsakr, within the Glittering Plains, the mysterious walled place in the Hadding story, and the tower in the Erik saga with its two beds, are the equivalents of Mimir's grove, where Lif and Lífthasir, progenitors of the new race of men, are preserved. To them would appropriately belong the title 'living men,' and to their hidden grove that of *Jörd lifanda manna*. 'In Gudmund's domain there is a splendid grove, an enclosed place, from which weaknesses, age, and death are banished—a Paradise of the peculiar kind that is not intended for the souls of the dead, but for certain *lifandi menn*, yet is inaccessible to people in general. In the myth concerning Mimir we also find such a grove' (Rydberg, 231). Thus, while this Elysian land of Gudmund's, with its deathless Óðáinsakr, is one of beauty and joy, to which daring mortals may penetrate and receive a welcome, it is closely connected with the realms of the dead—Hel, Valhalla, and Nifhel,—unlike the Celtic Elysium. Unlike the latter, too, it is not a land of the gods, but of a giant race, and is associated with Jötunheim; it is not an island Elysium, but a northern and subterranean one (cf. Nutt and Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, 1895, i. 308; BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Celtic]). The idea that the food of this region is dangerous to mortals corresponds with the universal belief that to eat the food of the dead or of fairies is dangerous.

5. The divine Elysium.—In the Golden Age of the gods, before they lost their happy state through the Titan maids from Jötunheim, they dwelt in Idavölhr, where they raised high places and temples, setting forges, fashioning treasures, shaping tools, and making tools. 'They played at tables in the court and were happy, they lacked not gold' (*Völuspá*, CPB i. 194). But after the restoration they dwell in Idavölhr once more, and it is said to be 'where Asgard was before' (*Völuspá*, ib. i. 201; *Gylf.* § 53).

See also STATE OF THE DEAD (Teutonic).

LITERATURE.—G. W. Dasent, *The Prose or Younger Edda*, Stockholm, 1842; Vigfusson and Powell, *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, Oxford, 1883; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, London, 1883, chs. 25–27; Simrock, *Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie*, Bonn, 1887; K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Berlin, vol. v. [1883, 1892]: V. Rydberg, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. by R. Anderson, London, 1889; de la Saussaye, *Religion of the Ancient Teutons*, Boston, 1902. J. A. MACCULLOCH.

BLINDNESS.—1. Definitions.—'Blindness' signifies inability to see, or absence of the sense of sight; hence, figuratively, want of discernment, or defective intellectual, moral, or spiritual sight. 'Word-blindness' is an acquired condition in which a person loses the power of reading written or printed words, although he can see objects; thus the letters on a printed page can be seen but are not recognized. 'Mind-blindness' is an acquired condition in which objects can be seen, but fail to be recognized by the sense of sight. 'Half-blindness' is a condition in which there is loss of one-half of the field of vision of one eye, or more commonly of both eyes.

2. Causes of blindness.—Blindness may be due to lesions of the eye, of the conducting path from the retina to the brain, or of the brain itself.

(1) *The eyes.*—Blindness may result from a loss of transparency of the cornea (nebula, leucoma), of the lens (cataract), of the vitreous humour; from effusion of blood or pus into the anterior or posterior chambers; from occlusion of the pupil; from various affections of the choroid and retina; from changes following increased intra-ocular tension (glaucoma). Destructive inflammation of one eye, such as often follows injury, is apt to be followed by a similar inflammation of the other eye (sympathetic inflammation). Ophthalmia neonatorum, an infectious inflammation contracted during birth, is the chief cause of blindness in early childhood.

(2) *The conducting paths.*—Inflammation of the optic nerve (optic neuritis) is an important cause of blindness. It commonly ends in atrophy (white atrophy) of the optic disc or beginning of the nerve within the eye. Grey atrophy of the disc, also a cause of blindness, is a primary degenerative condition, not resulting from inflammation.

The optic nerves pass back from the eyes and meet at the optic chiasma, at the base of the brain, where a re-arrangement of their fibres takes place in such a way that the fibres from the outer half of each retina pass into the optic tract of the same side, while the fibres from the inner half of each retina pass into the optic tract of the opposite side. The result of this is that, while a lesion destroying the continuity of one optic nerve causes total blindness of the corresponding eye, a lesion of one optic tract results in blindness of the corresponding half of each retina. Thus destruction of the right optic tract causes blindness of the outer (right) half of the right retina, and of the inner (right) half of the left retina. Blindness of the right half of each retina results in blindness of the left half of the field of vision, and this condition is called left-sided half-blindness or hemianopsia.

(3) *The brain.*—The fibres of the optic tract pass into the occipital lobe of the brain, and destruction of the visual centre in either occipital lobe produces hemianopsia just as in the case of the optic tract. Destruction of both visual centres would cause double hemianopsia, that is to say, complete blindness. Lesions of the left occipital lobe, but not of the right, may also be attended, according to their extent, by 'word-blindness,' or 'mind-blindness'—conditions which have already been defined. This difference between the effect of lesions of the left and of the right side of the brain is simply an example of the general fact that all the speech functions (speaking, reading, writing) have their special centres in the left side of the brain only. Apart from affections of the special centres for vision, gross lesions in any part of the brain may cause blindness by setting up optic neuritis.

3. Statistics of blindness.—The proportion of blind among the general population is much greater in tropical than in temperate regions. In temper-